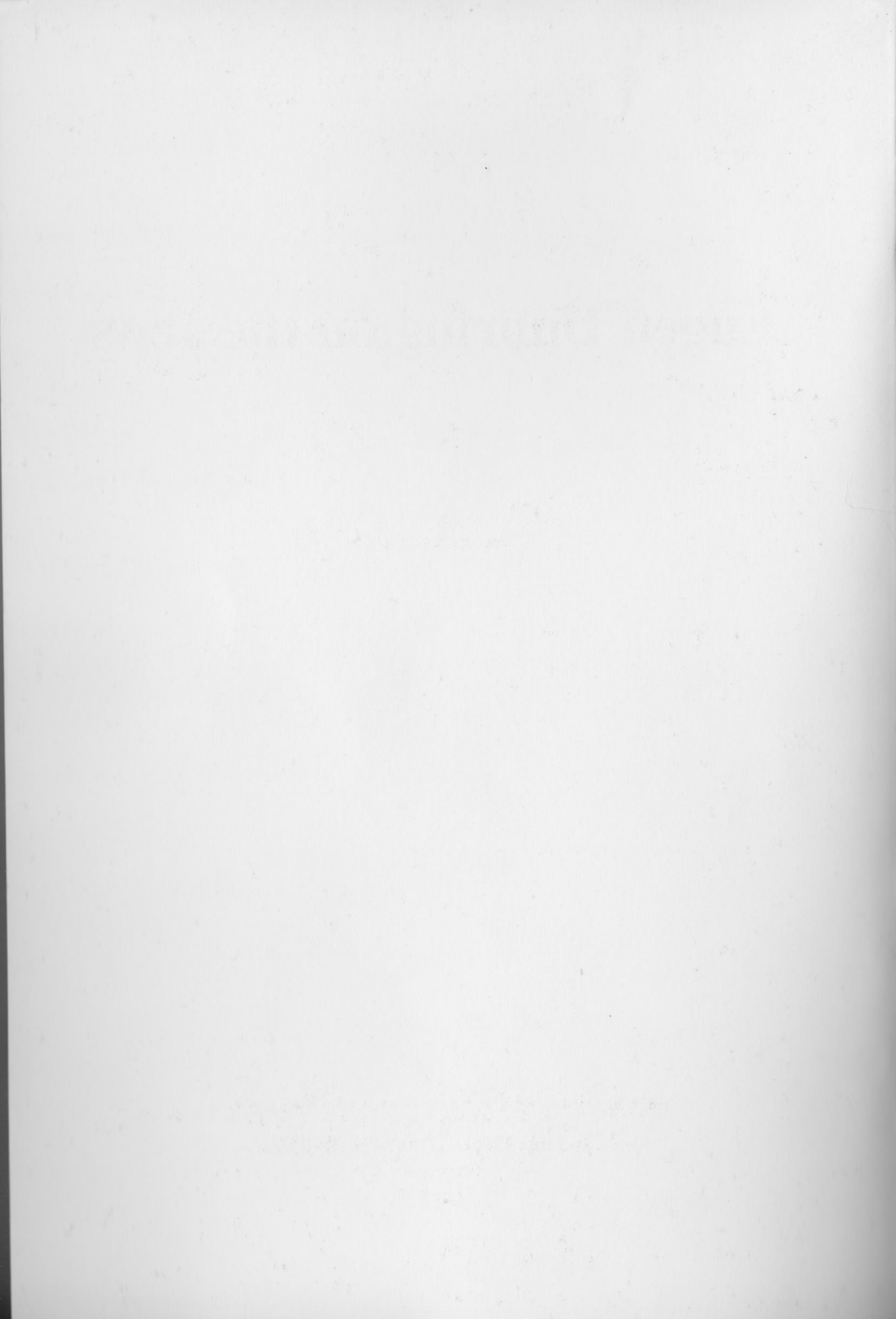


Eugen Dühring

on the Jews

Alexander
Jacob





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Eugen Dühring on the Jews

A translation of Dühring's

The Jewish Question
A racial, moral and cultural question
with a world-historical answer
(2nd edition, 1881)

Edited with an Introduction

by

Alexander Jacob

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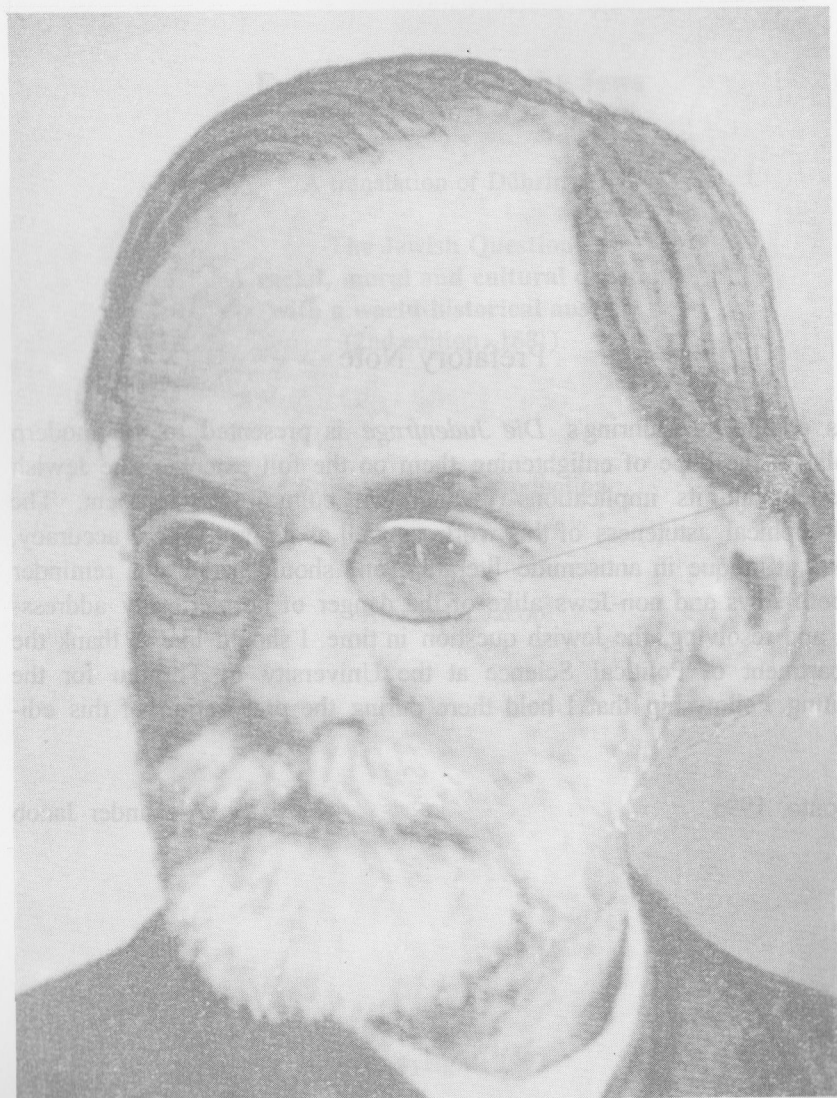
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Prefatory Note

This edition of Dühring's *Die Judenfrage* is presented to the modern public in the hope of enlightening them on the full extent of the Jewish question and its implications for national cultural development. The philosophical astuteness of this work, as well as its prophetic accuracy, makes it unique in antisemitic literature and should serve as a reminder to both Jews and non-Jews alike of the danger of not seriously addressing, and resolving, the Jewish question in time. I should like to thank the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto for the Visiting Fellowship that I held there during the preparation of this edition.

Toronto, 1995

Alexander Jacob



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Society has been so crippled by the moral poison in many places that it can no longer stir its limbs to a counter-move.

Dühring, *Die Judenfrage*, Ch.I.

The German, to be sure, moves his limbs mostly only when the usurpations become too malicious; but if he does that once, then he does that which he undertakes, no matter what, also in a fundamental way.

Dühring, *Die Judenfrage*, Ch.VI.

Introduction

I. The German Socialism of Eugen Dühring

Eugen Dühring (1833-1921) was born in Berlin the son of a Prussian bureaucrat and studied law, philosophy and political economy at the University of Berlin. Although he began his career by practicing law (1856-59), he was forced to give up this profession at the age of twenty eight when he was blinded through a congenital defect. However, Dühring accepted his fate heroically declaring that "[this catastrophe] did not dampen but increased the enthusiasm with which I had sketched out for myself even previously a human vocation of intellectual scope -- My goal was my consolation -- Of all the thoughts that remained remote from me in my later life it has been upto now the remotest to complain about my blindness". Dühring took his doctorate in 1861 at the University of Berlin with a dissertation entitled *De Tempore, Spatio, Causalitate atque de Analysis Infinitesimalis Logica*. In 1863 he became university lecturer in philosophy and national economy. His earliest published works were national economic ones influenced by his reading of the German-American economists Friedrich List (1789-1846) and the American Henry Charles Carey (1793-1879) who were both in favour of organic economics with a strong emphasis on protectionism and national interest. Dühring's economic doctrines are detailed in *Kapital und Arbeit* (Berlin, 1865), *Careys Umwälzung der Volkswirtschaftslehre* (München, 1865), *Kritische Grundlegung der Volkswirtschaftslehre* (Berlin, 1866), and *Die Verkleinerer Careys* (Breslau, 1867). Already the ethical orientation of his economic studies was revealed in his early publication of a work entitled *Der Wert des Lebens* (Breslau, 1865). Two further philosophical publications (*Natürliche Dialektik*, Berlin, 1865, and *Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie*, Berlin, 1869) were followed by yet other works on national economy, the *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1871), and the *Cursus der National- und Sozialökonomie*

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Dühring, *Die Judenfrage*, Ch I

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Dühring, *Die Judenfrage*, Ch VI

I. The German Socialism of Eugen Dühring

Eugen Dühring (1833-1921) was born in Berlin the son of a Prussian bureaucrat and studied law, philosophy and political economy at the University of Berlin. Although he began his career by practicing law (1856-59), he was forced to give up this profession at the age of twenty eight when he was blinded through a congenital defect. However, Dühring accepted his fate heroically declaring that "[this catastrophe] did not dampen but increased the enthusiasm with which I had sketched out for myself even previously a human vocation of intellectual scope -- My goal was my consolation --- Of all the thoughts that remained remote from me in my later life it has been upto now the remotest to complain about my blindness". Dühring took his doctorate in 1861 at the University of Berlin with a dissertation entitled *De Tempore, Spatio, Causalitate atque de Analysis Infinitesimalis Logica*. In 1863 he became university lecturer in philosophy and national economy. His earliest published works were national economic ones influenced by his reading of the German-American economists Friedrich List (1789-1846) and the American Henry Charles Carey (1793-1879) who were both in favour of organic economics with a strong emphasis on protectionism and national interest. Dühring's economic doctrines are detailed in *Kapital und Arbeit* (Berlin, 1865), *Careys Umwälzung der Volkswirtschaftslehre* (München, 1865), *Kritische Grundlegung der Volkswirtschaftslehre* (Berlin, 1866), and *Die Verkleinerer Careys* (Breslau, 1867). Already the ethical orientation of his economic studies was revealed in his early publication of a work entitled *Der Wert des Lebens* (Breslau, 1865). Two further philosophical publications (*Natürliche Dialektik*, Berlin, 1865, and *Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie*, Berlin, 1869) were followed by yet other works on national economy, the *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1871), and the *Cursus der National- und Sozialökonomie*

(Berlin, 1873). A fuller elaboration of his philosophical system was presented in the *Cursus der Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1875).

While Dühring's lectures were very successful, he adopted from the start a critical attitude to the university and its institutions, and the improbability of his acquiring a professorship as a result of this conflict only sharpened his attacks. Finally, in 1877, under the pressure created by his attacks of the German universities and their professors as well as those on Helmholtz in his *Kritische Geschichte der allgemeinen Principien der Mechanik*, (Berlin, 1873), Dühring was removed from the university. This dismissal was later attributed by him to the machination of the Jewish elements in the university and of their influential agents in the press. His later publications as a private scholar including two works on literature, *Die Überschätzung Lessings und dessen Anwaltschaft für die Juden* (Karlsruhe, 1881) and *Die Grössen der modernen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1893), as well as *Die Judenfrage* (Karlsruhe, 1881), an intellectual autobiography, *Sache, Leben und Feinde* (Karlsruhe, 1882), and a work on religion, *Der Ersatz der Religion durch Volkommeneres* (Karlsruhe, 1883) represent his comprehensive treatment of the problem of Jewish involvement in European society. His major interest in social and political economy however is reinforced in his last works, a second edition of *Capital und Arbeit* entitled *Waffen, Capital, Arbeit* (Leipzig, 1906) and *Soziale Rettung* (Leipzig, 1907), which are consolidations of his economic and philosophic positions. Dühring battled for reform in all fields of life, being exceptionally qualified to comment in an expert way on most of them. And it must be noted that, while the Jewish mentality is emphatically located as the root of the evil of society in his later works, his anti-Judaism was evident long before his dismissal from the university, in his earliest economic and philosophical works. His social ideal was based on a moral cultivation of the individual spirit which would liberate the personality from all external and internal hindrances and permit it to form a vital culture. To this end Dühring founded a journal called *Der Personalist und Emanzipator* in 1899, designed to strengthen the human-individual spirit in its opposition to the external powers of nature as well as to those of exploitative social groups, especially, of course, the Jews.

Unlike most of the other philosophical anti-Semites, such as Fichte and Schopenhauer and Chamberlain, Dühring was not an idealist but a realist. He dismissed metaphysics as being one of the sources of the superstitious errors of mankind and his mathematical denial of infinity was reflected in his stern view of human life as being empirically and

socially determined. However, even in this realism, Dühring retained a vestige of metaphysicalism since he posited behind all temporality a "primordial being" from which the universe evolves. Only, for human beings in their terrestrial condition, the actually present is far more valuable than speculations regarding the ultimate source of reality. What takes the place of metaphysical questions in Dühring's work is the Socratean imperative of morality. For, all life, while materially manifested, is informed with vitality and activity, categories which cannot be reduced to matter. Man-made institutions like religion are to be removed only because they are invariably encrusted with superstitions and act as a stumbling block to the full realization of the human personality.

In economics, the Marxist view of class-warfare is to be similarly considered as a dangerous superstition which obscures in convoluted dialectic the real sympathy that should and could exist between employers and workers and which alone forms the basis of a healthy social ethos. In this, Dühring was one with the other 'German socialists', including Oswald Spengler (*Preußentum und Sozialismus*) and Werner Sombart (*Deutscher Sozialismus*) who paved the way for National Socialism. Like the anti-democratic thinkers of the Weimar Republic, both Conservative and Socialist, Dühring considered parliamentarism as an outmoded and dangerous system. The English Parliament he characterised as a "Repräsentation des Raub- und Raffsystems", since the Tory and Whig parties were nothing but the representatives of belligerent and colonial robbery and capitalistic-commercial rapacity. The French parliament was even more basely bourgeois in its representation of financial and stock-exchange interests. In Germany, parliamentarism receives its hateful stamp from the "villenjunkerische und hebraisch-bourgeoisie Protzendum angeblicher Sozialdemokratie (which Dühring ironically refers to as "die Judo-sozialdemoprotzie"), in which "one cannot speak of a real rejection of slavery, but which on the contrary uses the traditional familiarity of the masses to slavery to subject them to a party despotism and an exploitation by the parties".¹ Parliamentary legislation too must be effectively curtailed in its attacks on the workers and their living conditions. Rather, he proposed free associations between the concerned parties that resemble economic communes and corporations. Unlike Marx, Dühring did not consider the reformation of social relations as something that will arise through dialectical necessity from the increasing weakness of the working

¹ *Waffen, Capital, Arbeit*, p. 73

classes in an industrial society, for this is tantamount to expecting a miracle from the exploitative tendencies of the capitalists. On the other hand, the workers themselves must strive to strengthen themselves through coalitions so as to achieve self-sufficiency. The coalitions or communes formed by workers will guarantee the access of all to property and means of production. The focus is shifted away from the concept of personal property altogether to relations of the right of use of property according to personal capacity.² The precondition for the success of such workers' coalitions, however, is the direction of all their efforts to the interests of the whole, of the public as a totality, and this can be effected perfectly only when the state enters in their support. The state must act as the mediator between the several socio-economic interests of the population, especially since the latter cannot be adequately represented by political parties, which are not truly democratic at all but oligarchic groupings in which "a considerable part of the people has a place only as a ruled and mostly anonymous mass".³ The leadership of the state can be accomplished only by the prevalence of another sense than that of profit-making such as is directive in the British political economy and in that of its followers on the continent. The prime consideration of the state must be the totality of the aspirations of the people. Dühring's Socialitarian economics therefore is nation-bound and not an international economic one. Dühring commends the protective tariff economics of List and Carey, which, as opposed to the free-trade economics, is an organic one and

more compatible to the logical consequences of the socialist instinct. The tariff party is conscious everywhere of a national interest; it is still conscious of a genuine political economy; it

² Dühring's political economy has much in common with that of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian leader, who attacked exploitation in any form, capitalist or Marxist, and advocated a society based on the principles of moral conscience, economic self-sufficiency, and mutual cooperation (see, for example, S. Dasgupta, "The core of Gandhi's social and economic thought" in J. Hick and L.C. Hempel (ed.), *Gandhi's significance for today*, London: The Macmillan Press, 1989, pp.189-202).

³ *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus*, p.486.

does not break up into atomism and individualism that freedom which is claimed only for the exploiting individuals.⁴ The Socialitarian principle is thus essentially the replacement of the egoistic individualism of force with the harmonious operation of the sovereignty of the individual.

The remedy of the present deplorable situation can be accomplished therefore only when society is first revolutionized on an anti-egoistic basis. In his discussion of the Jewish question, Dühring makes clear that this revolution may be identified with a revolution against the Jews, as the racial embodiment of self-interest, and points out that "In the country of origin of the French Revolution, in Judaized France, one hears the declaration that the next Revolution will be one against the Jews".⁵ The fact that parliamentarism has increasingly been dominated by the influence of the Jews and the socialistic proletariat, that is, of those racial and social elements which are the most egoistic, leads Dühring to call for the overcoming of the "Jewish progress and Junker reaction" which represent the system of avarice and rapacity. This can be accomplished only by a transitional dictatorship which gives political expression to the anger of the people. Dühring conceives of the bearer of such a dictatorship as an intellectually and morally outstanding person whose power is consolidated by armed force and by an elite of like-minded persons filled with the same sense of social justice. The task of this regime would be to create a fertile ground for true justice so that, even after its passing, the society may continue to develop itself in future through its purified spirit and will.

Thus, although Dühring began as a student of Socialistic doctrines, he later rejected all forms of collectivism and maintained that true progress proceeds only from individual powerful personalities. Even where groups seem to be the bearers of creative activities, in the final analysis it is individuals at the head of those organisations in whom the entire association achieves its characteristic effect. The state as an association itself is to be valued only as a check on the various economic associations active in society so that none exploits or damages the other. Dühring's increasing reliance on the individual personality caused him in his

⁴ *Ibid.* p.489.

⁵ *Die Judenfrage*, (posthumous edition, ed. H. Reinhardt), Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1930, p.134.

later years to stress the classification of society according to property and interest, as a result of the differences of opportunities for development of personal capacity and character, which are propagated through the generations by tradition and inheritance. Unlike the Socialists, Dühring considered all property related to personal accomplishment as vigorously to be defended against the acquisitive grasp of Socialistic measures. Only one sort of differentiation is to be rejected, that based on violence. All Marxist denials of social classifications are thus utopian since a conflict of interests is indivisibly linked to the natural differences between man and man. The Jewish Socialist propaganda of class-warfare is only a result of the introduction of injustice into these natural differences. This injustice is concocted, in the final analysis, not from economic sentiments but from the original opposition between a powerful warrior nobility and a powerless slave group such as the Jews themselves have always been. It is not surprising that the Jewish economy transvalues economics through the subordination of the higher to the lower aspirations of the people.

The vital importance of the self-emancipation of the individual is reinforced in Dühring's doctrine of morality freed from all superstitious religion. Considering the Judaic concept of Jahve as that of a God of "transcendental terrorism", Dühring sought to replace the Judeo-Christian ethos by a new social and economic feeling for justice. This entails the rejection first of all of all sorts of exploitation whereby the individual is exposed to harm from the robber-types of the society. The latter are directed by the desire for increasing individual profit, that is, by the cultivation of a ruthless egoism. The true concept of justice therefore depends on the substitution of egoism by a radical antiegoism. Only on the ground of this sort of justice can a healthy society and culture develop, a social order in which "entire members would be bound by legal interests and would not aim at basing their own existence and power on the reduction and destruction of other lives".⁶ The reform of social justice, however, does not mean the simplistic Socialistic demand of equality for all, since rewards are always directly related to performances; what is to be avoided at all cost, however, is the unjust encroachments on personal freedom and integrity which represent the mastery of the exploitative members of the present society.⁷ The reform of the "intellectually moti-

⁶ *Soziale Rettung*, p.181.

⁷ Thus Dühring also occasionally called his Socialitarian system an 'An-

vated will" to a better and nobler personal disposition will, in its anti-egoism, be naturally restrained in its inter-personal dealings and its participation in the nexus of economic interests.

That the major representatives of the exploitative economy are the Jews Dühring never once doubted. In the *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus*, he observes of the commercial ethos of the present that

It denies in no way its Semitic relationship and, as clear as the discernment is which we have to bring to the settling of the question of egoism, we cannot in the first place attribute an understanding of this to those who, by virtue of their unchangeable egoism, seem to have no organ for scientific reasons and nobler motives in this direction.⁸

This "theoretical obtuseness" of the Jews is an intellectual fortification "behind which has been entrenched upto now the apotheosis of egoism, the glorification of the art of cheating, and, in general, the entire celebration of the handsome stratagem of cunning exploitation".⁹ In his *Cursus der Philosophie*, he reiterates the commercial and financial role appropriated everywhere by the Jews after the fall of their own state and their parasitical infiltration into other nations. The historically attested "cruelty and crass egoism" of the Jews has thus seeped into the public through the press and even the legislation, which have been increasingly dominated by them. Indeed, "even parts of science which are especially ventured into by the Jews on account of their exclusion from others, already reveal in many ways the stamp of the new form of business directed to profit".¹⁰ At first agreeing to a subordinate position in exchange for the privilege of making money through underhand means, and then gradually currying favour with the power-holders through their increasing financial advantages, the Jews have inexorably developed a mastery in their host societies. "To be a slave or to make slaves - that is the alternative of the peoples disposed to lack of freedom". The "slave-form of religion" is thus

tikratic' one (as opposed to an 'Anarchic' system).

⁸ *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus*, p.450.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.453.

¹⁰ p.391.

the characteristic and influential contribution of the Jews to intellectual history.

At the time of writing this work on philosophy, Dühring still believed that socialism itself would be sufficient to counter the egoistic system of the Jews since it is based on the organic sensibility of the people which itself is radically opposed to the alien character of the exploitative Jewry. In fact, Dühring still hoped that, when society removed the supports for the material egoism and exploitative activity of the Jews, the latter would be forced to live on their own work and not parasitically on that of others. Moreover, he thought that, since his form of socialism, or Socialitarianism, would guarantee the economic independence of women as well as men, the former would not enter into marriages of economic convenience with Jewish men any more since, according to Dühring's belief, there could be no "personal inclination" thereto.¹¹ This would preclude "the danger that the Jewish elements may exert some hateful influence on the physiological popular character". The removal of opportunities for the exploitative activity of the Jews would at the same time make possible in the long run "a gradual improvement of the ways of thought and feeling" of the Jews and equip them for "functions freed of egoism". This generous optimism of 1875 was, however, soon replaced by a more realistic understanding of the impossibility of the ethical improvement of the Jews. Dühring's increasing concentration on the Jewish problem since the first publication of the *Judenfrage* in 1881 led to an increasing annoyance with the destructive alien element in European society until, in the final editions of the *Judenfrage*, he clearly maintained that, since the Jewish character was an unchangeable one, the only means that would be effective against them would have to be of a terroristic nature. In the last edition of his work (1901), Dühring even suggested that all the specific social and political remedies proposed by him against the Jewish evil in the earlier editions were bound to be inadequate in the long run¹² and must necessarily be reinforced by stronger means which do not permit the possibility of Jewish existence within the European communities any longer. As he explained in *Sache, Leben und Feinde*,

¹¹ This was of course written a century ago, when the natural sense of the European peoples was still relatively uncorrupted by liberalistic indoctrination and still in possession of a sound racial feeling.

¹² See Appendix below.

the Jewish mentality is a criminal one and its effect on the rest of society is that "the corruption of the senses and the spirit comes first and the lowering of the feel for justice paves the way for the material ravaging and devouring. For this reason the answer to the Jewish question belongs not merely to economics but in general to life and to existence, in all contexts".¹³ He now considered the Jewish question not merely in racial terms but in terms of the question of estates, especially those bearing arms and those that deprived of them. This included the Junkers as a target of Dühring's criticism since they represented a segment of the exploitative population that would naturally have to be overcome: "Junker and priest, Jew and bourgeois, were to be analysed from different viewpoints but still in a similar way --- Crime has no right to existence and must be destroyed in its embodiments - that is the axiom from which I start everywhere, thus even in the questions of race and estate".¹⁴ His animus against the Junker ruling class is due to his conviction that militarism and exploitation are the characteristics of an exploitative stratum that harm the peaceful occupation of the peasant: "the real peasant is directed to peace from his occupation itself and --- the unjustified belligerent disturbances throughout the world are based primarily on a weapon-bearing estate which has lived throughout history only by the sword, thus on the robbed or forced work of others".¹⁵ He naturally concedes that even the working class could become degenerate and unworthy of consideration: "Even a working class that has degenerated in its estate can have forms which forfeit the right to existence as much as any other section". Dühring's final effort therefore was to raise his reformatory idea to the status of a world-historical principle and "to make a just war against the misformed upto the roots of their nature".¹⁶ The case of the Jews, however, was the most serious since it revolved on "original natural defects and criminal natural creatures".¹⁷ The Jewish emancipation is meaningless since the Jews will never be free, for a "true emancipation worthy of the name is accomplished only where the personal freedom and integrity

¹³ *Sache, Leben und Feinde*, p.281.

¹⁴ p.282.

¹⁵ p.512.

¹⁶ p.284.

¹⁷ p.283.

is established and secured basically and in all contexts, but especially in the individual. Therefore, the emancipation of the Hebrews is the real and decisive one for mankind; for, to remain exposed to the powers of lies and exploitation, of intellectual and material deception, indeed to fall victim to them to a certain degree through the laws themselves and for the sake of justice, so to speak, means to be not free --- To be free or not to be is our solution in all things and for all".¹⁸

¹⁸ p.508f.

II. The Jewish question and Dühring

Although Dühring was one of the pioneering philosophical exponents of anti-Semitism, he was not the first to have a social and political influence in Germany as an anti-Semite. The most organized effort at directing German politics according to anti-Semitic programmes was that undertaken by Adolf Stöcker (1835-1909), the Imperial Court Chaplain, who founded the Christian Social Workers' Party in 1878. Stöcker was basically a conservative and monarchist who insisted that a Christian state was based on the principles of obedience and duty whereby the rulers took care of the lower classes through a genuine concern for the people. His anti-Semitism however was not racially grounded so much as a religious and social principle. As he said in a speech on Sep. 27, 1879,

I see in unrestrained capitalism the evil of our epoch and am naturally also an opponent of modern Judaism on account of my socio-political views. But it would never have occurred to me to take up my stand against purely economic errors, if this frivolous chase against all Christian elements in our life were not connected with them.¹⁹

Marxism was Stöcker's first target since the Socialist doctrine of Marx was to him "an offspring of materialism, created in the palaces of atheist wealth"; the "International of hatred" was henceforth to be countered by

¹⁹ Stöcker, *Christlich-Sozial*, p.377, translated in Peter Pulzer, *The rise of political anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, London: Peter Halbans Publishers, 1988, p.95.

Protestant charity, "the International of love".²⁰ The CSWP was formed as an opposition to the judaised Social Democracy which had, at that time, taken over the workers' cause with great success. In its fight against economic liberalism, Stöcker urged the government to establish "compulsory nation-wide trade corporations which would regulate apprenticeship, represent the workers' contractual liabilities under a system of compulsory arbitration".²¹ It also proposed "a progressive income tax as a counterweight to existing or future indirect taxation, a progressive inheritance tax, stock exchange tax, and high taxes on luxuries".²² Stöcker perceptively remarked that the masses had been neglected by the conservative party through their superior attitude and left over to the manipulations of "the enemies". A mass movement from the Right in favour of the Church and State was possible precisely through democratic means. However, Stöcker's party did not have much direct success politically, although it did have an indirect effect on the government, which realized the menace of the Social Democratic party and outlawed it in 1878. But in 1880, Stöcker's attacks at a mass meeting on Bleichröder, the Jewish banker who helped the state and throne financially, led to the issuing of an admonition to Stöcker from the Kaiser himself.

But the anti-Semitic sentiment awakened by Stöcker grew steadily and the middle classes soon joined the lower classes in rallying round Stöcker's movement. Although his party did not gain any considerable successes in the beginning, Stöcker's later alliance with the Conservatives brought him a minor parliamentary victory in the 1881 election. The social reform programme of Bismarck took into account Stöcker's suggestions. However, in 1884, Stöcker's anti-Semitism was turned into a public scandal through the Jewish press and Stöcker began to be an embarrassment to the Reich. Although he regained influence in 1892-93, at the time of the formation of the Agrarian League, his championing of the agrarian lower classes caused distrust in the Junker elements of the Conservative Party and, when in 1895, the Social Democrats brewed another scandal by publishing a letter of Stöcker's to Baron Wilhelm von

²⁰ *Neue evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, March 14, 1874, quoted in Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for destruction: A Study of political anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany*, N.Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1949, p.28.

²¹ quoted in Massing, *op.cit.*, p.25.

²² *Ibid.*

Hammerstein which revealed his intention to win the support of Kaiser Wilhelm II by dissociating him from the influence of Bismarck, Stöcker was forced to break with the Conservative Party altogether. However, his dissociation from the Conservatives did not mean that Stöcker was now fully committed to the left-wing elements of the Christian Social Party, as Stöcker's new programme at the 1896 Wartburg convention revealed, for it insisted once again on a corporative restructuring of economics. In general, however, Stöcker's brand of Christian anti-Semitism was losing ground around this time and was taken over by a more radical racialist one.

One of the first racial political anti-Semites was Wilhelm Marr (1819-1904). Marr's career was not an academically distinguished one but his work as a journalist and publicist brought him much fame as an anti-Semite, especially after the publication of his book *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum* (1879) which went through twelve editions in six years. As he wrote in this work, "There must be no question here of parading religious prejudices when it is a question of race and when the difference lies in the 'blood'". The Germans have lost their virtue through negligence and the victory of Judaism is now almost complete: "The Thirty Years' War which Jewry has officially waged against us since 1848 --- does not even leave open the hope of some rotten Peace of Westphalia". This was of course written at a time when Disraeli ruled England and Gambetta France. In 1879, Marr founded the Antisemiten-Liga which sought to oppose

with all lawful means, the further displacement of Germanism by Judaism, by making its task to force the Semites back into a position corresponding with their numerical strength by liberating Germanism from the oppressive weight of Jewish influence in social, political and ecclesiastical matters, and by securing for the children of Teutons their full rights to office and dignity in the German fatherland.²³

Although he worked as an agitator for his cause for a few years, Marr never succeeded in any considerable way in anti-Semitic politics. His basic social thesis, represented in the title of his famous book, was too negative in its consideration of the domination of Judaism as a *fait accompli*. Besides, in his later years, Marr dissociated himself from what he

²³ *Statuten des Vereins der Antisemiten-Liga*, quoted in Pulzer, op. cit. p.49.

called the "business of anti-Semitism", and ceased to profess his former anti-Semitic principles any longer. Other racialist anti-Semitism politicians like Henrici, Sonnenberg, and Bernard Foerster, were more extreme in their views but equally ineffective in winning the public's favour. The only successful political campaign of an anti-Semitic nature was that of the German Reform Party led in Dresden by Alexander Pinkert, in Leipzig by Theodor Fritsch and in Kassel by Otto Boeckel. Of these Fritsch was the most important and much of his anti-Semitism was indeed derived from the philosophical study produced by Dühring. Intellectually, thus, all the racialist anti-Semites of the last decades of the nineteenth century were superseded by Dühring's detailed scholarly discussion of the Jewish question as a racial and moral one.

One of the most important contributions of Dühring's work to the history of anthropology and culture is the distinction he makes between the Jews and the other Semites so that all the features of the so-called 'anti-Semitism' are in fact directed only to the Jews as a specific branch of the Semitic race, "the most vicious minting of the entire Semitic race", and not to all the members of that race in general. The Jewish question too is not a religious one but of the inherent and unchangeable character of the Jewish people.²⁴ Thus, as Dühring puts it,

it lies in the interest of a noble mankind, thus of a true humanity and culture, that this obscurantism of religion which has upto now covered and protected the worst characteristics of the Jews with its darkness be fully removed so that the Jew

²⁴ This is in fact borne out by the evidence of Josephus regarding the circumstances of the expulsion of Abraham and his tribe from Chaldea, for he states that the Chaldeans drove him out because he forsook the lofty, astronomically oriented, natural philosophy of the Chaldeans for a more mundane ethics (*Jewish Antiquities*, I, 157; cf. Philo the Jew, *De mutatione nominum*, 72-76, and *De migratione Abrahami*, 184). This first recorded expulsion of the Jewry from a host country is strengthened by the second, dating from Egyptian antiquity, when, according to Dühring himself, the Jews revealed their avaricious worldly nature in their attempt to take as much of the Egyptians' gold and silver with them as possible when they left Egypt.

may be revealed to us in his natural and inalienable constitution.²⁵

In general, Dühring believes that all official religions are encrusted with superstition and it would be best to substitute religious dogma by something more genuinely spiritual in social institutions. The point of departure for Dühring's critique of the Jewry is thus an entirely moral one. The chief accusation against the Jews is that they are morally corrupt and therefore thrive most in a society where moral corruption has already set in or has begun to set in. This is the justification of the appellation of the Jewish race as a parasitical one since it feeds on the moral corruption of the host society, a corruption either created by it or, if already present to some degree, fostered by it. The dangers of moral corruption through the admixture of Jews into European society have increased particularly after the emancipation of the Jewry in the sixties and seventies of the last century. The source of the Jewish corrupt nature is located by Dühring in their basic lack of conscience and cruelty vis-à-vis the other nations. Exploitation of other nations is their major aim and a genuine sense of human rights is utterly lacking in their commercial, essentially usurious, dealings. This lack of a moral sense makes true politics impossible among them and their involvement in all sorts of so-called Socialist movements is only conditioned by their desire to extract advantages for themselves from disturbed social and economic conditions.

The religious constitution of the Jews is evidenced most clearly in their overarching theocratic ideas of society wherein the Jewish people are enslaved to their Lord God but, in turn, must enslave the rest of mankind to please this sole, jealous monarch of the world.²⁶ Jahve is

²⁵ All quotations from the *Judenfrage* are from the present translation of the second edition.

²⁶ Compare Schopenhauer's contempt for the Jews which was directed by his recognition of their worldly nature and superficial theism, rationalism, and optimism. The references to these characteristics of the Jewish mentality are ubiquitous in his works. For instance, in his 'Fragments for the History of Philosophy' (*Parerga und Paralipomena*, I, he declares: "[the religion of the Jews] is, therefore, the crudest and poorest of all religions and consists merely in an absurd and revolting theism --- While all other religions endeavour to explain to the people by symbols and parables the metaphysical significance of life, the religion of the Jews is entirely

indeed nothing but an embodiment of the Jewish self-interest and represents the very opposite of the Indo-European natural pantheon. The Germanic mythology is ruled by concepts of fidelity and nature-bound spirituality which have unfortunately been obscured by the overlaying of the original German moral character by Christianity, a religion which is very closely related to the Jewish racial culture in which it arose as a reaction to the evils of the Jewish nature.²⁷ The Jewish religion has no truly religious character but, instead, a markedly economic-political one. Given their natural proclivity to profit-making, it is not surprising that the Jews have, in their extensive wanderings away from their homeland, curried favour with power-holders in all ages through their financial loans.²⁸ The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* based in Paris is in fact a modern confirmation of the operation of the political influence of Jews on an international scope under the cover of an apparently religious organisation.

The influence of the Jews on society is more evident in the upper and middle classes than in the lower since the former are more exposed to the thoroughly Judaised press and literature of modern times. The Jews themselves lack all creative power in science as well as in art and merely trade in the ideas of others. The Jewish economist, David Ricardo, for

immanent and furnishes nothing but a mere war-cry in the struggle with other nations", (cf., *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, III, Art.48, IV, Art.59; *Parerga*, I, 'On Philosophy at the Universities'; and II, 'On Religion').

²⁷ In *Sache, Leben und Feinde*, Dühring points out that "The belief which Christ demanded was the belief in his person, the blind subjection to the word of the master and prophet, but not that naturally grown fidelity such as it lies in the nature of the better peoples and characters" (p.288) and both in this work and in the *Ersatz* as well as in the later editions of the *Judenfrage*, Dühring maintains that the ascetic ordeal of self-crucifixion exemplified by Christ in his life is valid only for the inferior Jewish flesh, embodying the characteristic Jewish self-interest, and should not apply to the healthy peoples.

²⁸ Werner Sombart demonstrates how the especially international nature of the Jewish finance helped them to manipulate loans particularly adeptly in times of wars (see Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, Ch.5).

example derived his famous ground-rent theory from the Scot James Anderson, and the Jewish mathematician, Carl Gustav Jacobi, his ideas from the Norwegian Niels Abel. Even the sole distinguished philosopher of the Jewish race, Spinoza, has produced a system which is singularly lacking in all ideals above rational calculation. The neglect of compassion in his *Ethics* as a feeling-based category to be overcome by the understanding points to the real cult of intellectual power which lies at the base of his system.²⁹ The Jewish talent in literature is always of a hybrid sort displaying even amidst occasional attempts at Germanic sublimity an irresistible proclivity to buffoonery, as in the case of Heine, and to polemics, as in the case of Börne. The Jews have also turned Lessing's sympathetic attitude to the Jews (perhaps, as Dühring maintains, because Lessing was himself originally of Jewish descent) into an exaggerated cult of Lessing as the glory of the German Enlightenment when in fact his works are entirely artificial ones lacking in genuine emotional power. The Jews lack all heroism of character to produce epic or dramatic literature and can, at best, attain some weak lyricism as revealed in their ancient Psalms. Like Richard Wagner, Dühring also criticizes the unpleasant manner of Jewish chanting in the synagogues and goes even farther than Wagner in his anti-Judaism in maintaining that Wagner himself compromised in the end with the Jews in accepting generous donations from the Jews at Bayreuth and in purporting to save those Jews who supported his 'music of the future', rather like a dispenser of indulgences. The general unsuitability of the Jews for artistic enterprise is, in fact, located by Dühring in their lack of "that free and unselfish activity of the mind which alone advances to uninterested truth and beauty".

The Judaised press, however, constantly ridicules the German nature as that of the simpleton, of the 'deutschen Michael'. The Jews have, through their involvement with the political parties of the present, corrupted the concepts of socialism and social democracy. Their aim in the realm of economics has been always, whether it be through Marx or through Lasalle, to foster economic dissatisfaction through terms such as "class-warfare" in order ultimately to achieve a "merging of all nations

²⁹ In his *Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie*, Dühring declares: "The concept of so-called virtue coincides with that of power. From the logical affirmation of individual power the symbol of all ethical principles is supposed to be ultimately produced by means of the understanding and the higher insight" (3rd. ed., Leipzig, 1878, p.306f.).

into a Jewish kingdom". The German state was in fact founded originally on the moral quality of loyalty, which was the basis of the feudal system which developed therefrom in the Middle Ages. Loyalty should thus be the source of future German politics as well. The Jewish politics, on the other hand, is based on betrayal - of Europeans as well as, occasionally, of Jews too by themselves. The intolerant Jewish ethos can operate only in an exploitative manner and under the enforcement of a terrorism learnt from their fearful Lord God. True piety is lacking in their politics as much as in their religion. The Jewish infiltration into the legislative activities of the German state after their emancipation has enabled them to herd the German people under the thrall of individualistic 'freedom' into the exploitative hands of the Jews. In this they have been abetted by the university professors and intelligentsia, since the latter depend for the most part on the Jewish press for their reputation. The advancement of Jews from an original pariah-status to the leading political positions in the European nations is evidenced by the rise of Gambetta in France and of Disraeli in England. Gambetta rose to power on the basis of a French political fiasco for which his own people were responsible. Disraeli's opportunism is manifest in his use of the stock-business to acquire foreign lands.³⁰ But the true manipulative schemes of the Jew are revealed by Disraeli himself in his fictional writings such as *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and *Tancred*. The very appointment of a Jew like Disraeli as the head of the English aristocracy is a sad sign of the degeneration of the English in recent times.

The solution of the Jewish problem must be an international one if it is to have any lasting effect. One of the major preparatory steps is the elimination of the false idea of tolerance. Tolerance of baseness is a contradiction of the principle of human tolerance itself: "Humane reciprocity will consist in living in peace insofar as the nobler humanity comes together in the good. For the rest, however, precisely battle and destruction will emerge so much more energetically against the inhuman". Similarly, the principle of equality cannot mean the consideration of that which is unequal as equal. The economic communes and corporations which Dühring suggests in his Socialitarian system thus must reserve the right to exclude harmful economic elements like the Jews. The political solution of the Jewish problem lies first in the spiritual emancipation of

³⁰ The acquisition of the Suez Canal for Britain with funds derived from the Rothschilds is a case in point.

the people from the Jewish mentality and ethos. But individual natures are too weak to carry out this process of reformation of society by themselves and so must be helped by the state legislations and administration. The disenfranchisement of the Jews is a *sine qua non* of all remedial action with regard to the Jewish problem. Their exclusion, internment, and deportation must be encouraged wherever possible. However, Dühring is too realistic to think that the creation of an independent Israeli state in Palestine and the deportation of the Jews to it would suffice to solve the Jewish problem. For, the Jewish nature is an essentially nomadic one and will soon disperse again throughout the world even if it did manage to concentrate itself in Palestine for a while. The nomadic nature of the Jews itself is explained by Dühring as being due to the basically unpleasant nature of the Jews so that they are repulsive even to themselves when they are alone with themselves and not in the midst of European society - to whom they are, naturally, far more repugnant.

The specific means to be adopted against the Jews must be undertaken in three fields, the political, the economic, and the social. Political representation and occupation of official positions by Jews is to be curtailed immediately in such a way that no Jew can be elected to Parliament any more than any Jew can exercise a right to vote in European elections. The excess number of Jewish judges must be reduced through forced retirement; the cost of retirement payments incurred hereby would be much less than the damages that are to be anticipated if the Jews continue to distort legislation and justice in the country over a long period of time. The financial measures to be adopted against the Jews should be directed by the knowledge that all Jewish racial economics is based on avarice and the ambition to dominate others. The powerful Jewish financial houses must be mediatised forthwith and placed under official curatorships and state supervision. This step must be carried out not only in Germany but in every country where the Jews exert such financial power. If we remember Dühring's (and later Werner Sombart's)³¹ identification of the main means by which most of the Jewish finance was acquired as cheating, then we will understand the indispensability of such steps against it. The social means should at first be focussed on the chief Jewish agent of social influence, the press, wherewith the Jews turn public opinion into Jewish opinion. Jews must be removed from all ownership as well as editorial positions of newspapers; though,

³¹ see below pp. 29f.

for the cultivation of a public opinion different from the present predominantly Jewish Liberal one, radical political changes are necessary as well. Education too should be reoriented in a native Germanic way by the exclusion of Jews from school and university instructorships. If the Jews have succeeded so far in their social endeavours, it is precisely because the university professors have, in their weakness and corruption, encouraged the parasitical activity of the Jews. Other important social means against the Jews consist in the discouragement of intermarriages between Germans and Jews. He rightly points out that the case where a Jewish woman marries a German man is somewhat better than the reverse since the man is the bearer of the inherited spiritual qualities. Dühring does not yet³² think that legislation is necessary for this purpose since the natural aversion that Germans, especially German women, have to Jews will act as a deterrent. Also, the reduction of the financial power of the Jews and the increasing economic independence of women will make German women less tempted to marry rich Jews for economic reasons. In general, the danger of such mixtures can be successfully reduced only if there is a strict legislation regarding the number of Jewish immigrants permitted into a particular territory.

The state's role in anti-Jewish measures must be supplemented by agitations on the part of the people. The parties themselves are impotent in their narrow programmes and have too much connection to Jewish agencies to be effective in any way. For example, the measures taken by the German Conservative parties to reduce corruption in society were not specifically limited to the Jews and affected even the better elements engaged in the occupations in question. The Jewish question is first and last a moral question and demands the reestablishment of German loyalty and trust against the frivolity of the Jewish mind and the corruption that creeps under cover of this frivolity. What is at stake is the very existence, moral and material, of the European peoples, for "if things are not directed, the descendants of traders in old wardrobes, scraps and cattle bones must get to the very bones of the modern peoples after they have pocketed their wealth and lamed their mind through inoculation". The solution to the Jewish problem must be an international and a continually lasting one, and Dühring maintains that even the most powerful means cannot be shied away from in the effort to free the better peoples and nations from what he calls their "internal Carthage".

³² That is, at the time of writing the second edition (1881).

III. The political influence of Dühring's anti-Semitism.

The influence of Dühring is most clearly perceived in the writings of the economist and social philosopher, Werner Sombart (1863-1941) who identified himself with the National Socialist movement during the first years of its regime. The identification of cheating in commercial transactions and exploitation of other peoples as the chief causes of the financial power of the Jewry is reinforced by Werner Sombart in his important book on *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1911). The root of the Jewish economics is located by Sombart in the hereditary religion itself which

in all its reasonings appeals to us as a creation of the intellect, a thing of thought and purpose projected into the world of organisms, mechanically and artfully wrought, destined to destroy and to conquer Nature's realm and to reign itself in her stead. Just so does Capitalism appear on the scene; like the Jewish religion, an alien element in the midst of the natural, created world; like it too something schemed and planned in the midst of teeming life.³³

Capitalism indeed derives directly from the sheer profit-oriented usurious economic tradition of the Jews:

modern capitalism is the child of money-lending --- In money-lending all conception of quality vanishes and only the quantitative aspect matters --- In money-lending economic activity as such has no meaning; it is no longer a question of exercising body or mind; it is all a question of success. Success,

³³ *The Jews and modern capitalism*, tr. M. Epstein, p.200.

therefore, is the only thing that has a meaning. In money-lending the possibility is for the first time illustrated that you can earn without sweating; that you may get others to work for you without recourse to force.³⁴

The Jews disregarded the restraints to profit-making inherent in the traditional patterns of European economic life:

[The Jew] paid no attention to the strict delimitation of one calling or of one handicraft from another, so universally insisted on by law and custom. Again and again we hear the cry that Jews did not content themselves with one kind of activity; they did whatever they could, and so disturbed the order of things which the guild system wished to see maintained.³⁵

The alien status of the Jew vis-à-vis the host peoples among whom they lived served as a contributory factor to the success of their capitalistic endeavours, for their second-class status in society only spurred them on in their natural hatred and resentment of the host peoples whereby they took advantage of non-Jews under the sanction of their so-called religious laws: "intercourse with strangers was bereft of all considerations, and commercial morality (if I may put it so) became elastic".³⁶

The end result of the prevalence of the Jewish spirit in the west was the corruption of the very nature of western man and society, for, "Before capitalism could develop, the natural man had to be changed out of all recognition, and a rationalistically minded mechanism introduced in his stead. There had to be a transvaluation of all economic values."³⁷ This ruinous transformation is effected basically through the resilient adaptation of the Jew to the society in which he is resident:

That a Felix Mendelssohn should write German music, that a Jacques Offenbach French and a Sousa Yankee-doodle; that Lord Beaconsfield should set up as an Englishman, Gambetta as a Frenchman, Lasalle as a German; in short, that Jewish talent should so often have nothing Jewish about it, but be in accord with the environment, has curiously enough again and again been urged as evidence that there are no specifically

³⁴ p.186.

³⁵ p.140.

³⁶ p.232.

³⁷ p.227.

Jewish characteristics, whereas in truth it proves the very opposite in a striking fashion. It proves that the Jews have the gift of adaptability in an eminently high degree --- He is a German where he wants to be a German, and Italian if that suits him better. He does everything and dabbles in everything, and with success.³⁸

But this process of adaptation is an intellectually determined one and lacks the organic quality of true sympathy: "That Lord Beaconsfield was a Conservative was due to some accident or other, or some political conjuncture; but Stein and Bismarck and Carlyle were Conservatives because they could not help it; it was in their blood".³⁹ They lack sympathy indeed for

every status where the nexus is a personal one. The Jew's whole being is opposed to all that is usually understood by chivalry, to all sentimentality, knight-errantry, feudalism, patriarchalism. Nor does he comprehend a social order based on relationships such as these. 'Estates of the realm' and craft organizations are a loathing to him. Politically he is an individualist --- He is the born representative of the 'liberal' view of life in which there are no living men and women of flesh and blood with distinct personalities, but only citizens with rights and duties.⁴⁰

The result is that the Jews themselves often do not seem to understand the real significance of the Jewish question and appear to think that the Jewish question is only a political or religious one, believing that "whatever can be neatly set down on paper and ordered aright by the aid of the intellect must of necessity be capable of proper settlement in actual life".⁴¹

In his *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934), Sombart reinforces the difference between the German socialism and the "fatal belief in progress which --- ruled the ideal world of the proletarian Socialism even more

³⁸ p.253.

³⁹ p.254.

⁴⁰ p.247.

⁴¹ p.248.

than the world of liberalism".⁴² The chief casualty of such foolish worship of progress is culture, for "to perpetually renew, hinders all culture -- Only when in the course of history the traditions of belief, of morals, of education, and of organization are dominant is it possible for a culture to unfold itself. For, in accordance with its very nature, culture is old, rooted, indigenous".⁴³ The basis of all culture can be only the nation and not the state, for the nation is "the political association in its endeavor to attain an end --- The nation exists not because it lives in the consciousness of the individuals, but it exists as an idea in the realm of the spirit; it is 'spiritual individuality'".⁴⁴ The people that constitute a nation are indeed an organism like the individual and possess the same origin, same historical destiny, and the same spiritual culture. It is on this cultural basis that one ought to distinguish the Jews as an alien nation. The Jews should be denied equal rights in holding leading and responsible positions, regardless of their spirit and character. He points with approval to the pre-Wilhelminian period when

the military corps and nearly the entire internal and judicial administration, with approved exceptions, were closed against the Jews. Had this practice been retained, and had the Jews been assigned to other important fields, such as the universities, law and other activities, the German fatherland and, by no means least, the Jews themselves, would have been spared heavy afflictions".⁴⁵

We note that Sombart does not see any harm in the admission of Jews into the universities and the legal profession when Dühring more acutely observed the universal damage that the Jews cause to the European cultural body. The solution that Sombart suggests to the Jewish question is the transformation of the institutional culture in such a way that "it will no longer serve as a bulwark for the Jewish spirit",⁴⁶ that is, the "spirit of this economic age" or of bourgeois society, so that Germans them-

⁴² Werner Sombart, *A new social philosophy*, tr. K.F. Geiser, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937, p.149.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.162.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.177.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.179.

selves no longer indulge in the alien ethos foisted on them by the Jews. The economic policy of the modern states must also be one directed in a corporative manner based on a system of estates:

self-interests are to be overcome and articulated in the state as a whole; nor, in such an order, does the individual find his place according to his own estimate, but receives the place assigned to him. That means the recognition of the primacy of politics. In other words, an order according to estates is not reconcilable with the principle of free enterprise and free competition. In a community in which capitalistic economy still rules, an estate system is a contradiction. Not until the state rests fundamentally upon institutions, that is, upon a legal order which imposes duties, can an estate-system fulfil its tasks.⁴⁷

The new legal order will be both hierarchical and embody a "super-individual reason" directed to the welfare of the whole; this order will be fully represented by the state. Henceforth the domain of economics will be ruled by that of politics, represented essentially in the military, while in the realm of economics itself agriculture will occupy the first rank and business the last.

Sombart's German Socialism is indeed very indistinguishable from that of the neo-conservatives, Oswald Spengler, Moeller van den Bruck, or Edgar Julius Jung.⁴⁸ This should only confirm the much neglected fact that what the anti-democratic and anti-liberal Germans were fundamentally fighting for in the Weimar Republic was the European ethos as opposed to the Jewish, and that German Socialism (as distinct from and irreconcilable to Marxist Socialism) is as oriented to the development of true moral culture and as hierarchically and neo-mediaevaly organized as Conservatism.⁴⁹ One major difference between Dühring and the elitist

⁴⁷ *op.cit.*, p.204.

⁴⁸ See Oswald Spengler, *Preußentum und Sozialismus*, München, 1920, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, *Das dritte Reich*, Berlin 1923, Edgar Julius Jung, *Die Herrschaft der Minderwertigen*, Berlin, 1930.

⁴⁹ For a brilliant modern statement of the genuine Conservative position, as distinct from the Conservative party programmes, see Roger Scruton, *The Meaning of Conservatism*, London: The Macmillan Press, 1984.

neo-conservatives,⁵⁰ however, is their identification with the upper classes and their sympathy with the original, if not the present, Prussian elite. Unlike Dühring, too, they were not pacifists and encouraged militarism as a significant political ideal. As representative of the neo-conservative position in the Weimar Republic we may consider here the political views of Oswald Spengler (1880-1936). In his essay *Preussentum und Sozialismus* (1919), which was a sketch of the main themes of the second part of the *Untergang des Abendlandes* (1919-1922), Spengler details the difference between the so-called Marxist socialism which is based on alien, English and Jewish, understandings of society and the genuine socialism of the Prussians. The socialism of the English is demonstrated to be a Viking-like individualism which has encouraged the colonial rapacity of the British Empire and the mercantile ruthlessness of its leaders. The Norman conquest of England had put an end to the Anglo-Saxon way of life and introduced the 'piracy principle' whereby "the barons exploited the land apportioned to them, and were in turn exploited by the duke".⁵¹ The modern English and American trade companies are enchained to the same motives of profiteering:

Their aim is not to work steadily to raise the entire nation's standard of living, it is rather to produce private fortunes by the use of private capital, to overcome private competition, and to exploit the public through the use of advertising, price wars, control of the ratio of supply and demand.⁵²

The French democratic notions, on the other hand, are ruled by an anarchic love of pleasure since what every individual in the French state wants is "an equality of pleasure, equal opportunity for life as a pensioner". The Marxist doctrine, being a product of the Jewish mind, which is characterized by 'resentment', is based on an envy of those who have wealth and privileges without work, and so it advocates revolt against those who possess these advantages. It is thus essentially a negative variant of the English ethos. It is not surprising, therefore, that the worker in the Marxist doctrine is encouraged to amass his own profits through

⁵⁰ Spengler, Moeller, and Jung all belonged to the elitist German clubs, the Juni Klub and its successor, the Herren Klub.

⁵¹ *Preussentum und Sozialismus*, in O. Spengler, *Selected Essays*, tr. D.O. White, Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1967, p. 62.

⁵² *op.cit.*, p.63.

private business, so that, as Spengler puts it, "Marxism is", indeed, "the capitalism of the working class". The Marxist system is indeed the "final chapter of a philosophy with roots in the English Revolution, whose biblical moods have remained dominant in English thought".⁵³ The Marxian solution to boundless private property was only a negative one: "expropriation of the expropriators, robbery of the robbers".⁵⁴ On the other hand, Prussian socialism is

not concerned with nominal property, but rather with techniques of administration --- The Old Prussian method was to legislate the formal structure of the total productive potential while guarding carefully the right to property and inheritance, and to allow so much freedom to personal talent, energy, initiative, and intellect as one might allow a skilled chess player who had mastered all the rules of the game. This is largely how it was done with the old cartels and syndicates, and there is no reason why it could not be systematically extended to work habits, work evaluation, profit distribution, and the internal relationship between planners and executive personnel. Socialization means the slow, decades-long transformation of the worker into an economic civil-servant, of the employer into a responsible administrative official with extensive powers of authority, and of property into a kind of old-style hereditary fief to which a certain number of rights and privileges are attached.⁵⁵

⁵³ *op.cit.*, p.97. What Spengler does not explicitly observe here is that the biblical mode of thought which directed Puritan capitalistic industry is in fact a basically Jewish voluntaristic one deriving from the conception of the universe as created by a Pantokrator who rules the creation with his Will as a personal Lord (See E. Zilsel, "The genesis of the concept of physical law", *Philosophical Review*, 51 (1942), 247ff, for a discussion of the Jewish origins of this concept, as well as Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, tr. T. Parsons, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1930, and Werner Sombart, *Die Juden and das Wirtschaftsleben*, Leipzig, 1911, and *Deutscher Sozialismus*, Charlottenburg, 1934).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *op.cit.*, p.119f.

The significance of the notion of the state is completely ignored by Marx in his focus on 'society'. On the other hand, the Prussian form of socialism is based entirely on the notion of the primacy of the state which is the ideal of the Teutonic knight, diametrically opposed to the roving plunder of the Viking:

The Teutonic knights that settled and colonized the eastern borderlands of Germany in the Middle Ages had a genuine feeling for the authority of the state in economic matters, and later Prussians have inherited that feeling. The individual is informed of his economic obligations by Destiny, by God, by the state, or by his own talent --- Rights and privileges of producing and consuming goods are equally distributed. The aim is not ever greater wealth of the individual or for every individual, but rather the flourishing of the totality.⁵⁶

While the English society is devoted to 'success' and wealth, the Prussian is devoted to work for a common national goal:

The Prussian style of living --- has produced a profound rank-consciousness, a feeling of unity based on an ethos of work, not of leisure. It unites the members of each professional group - military, civil service, and labor - by infusing them with a pride of vocation, and dedicates them to activity that benefits all others, the totality, the state.⁵⁷

The individual subsumed in the totality is however marked most strikingly by "that glorious inner freedom, the *libertas oboe-dientiae* which has always distinguished the best exemplars of Prussian breeding".⁵⁸

The administrative ideal that Spengler proposes for the Prussian state is indeed typically Platonic and neo-medieval:

Let us envision a unified nation in which every one is assigned his place according to his socialistic rank, his latent for voluntary self-discipline based on inner conviction, his organizational abilities, his work potential, consciousness, and energy, his intelligent willingness to serve the common cause. Let us plan for general work conscription, resulting in occupation-

⁵⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵⁷ *op.cit.*, p.46.

⁵⁸ *op.cit.*, p.40.

al guilds that will administrate and at the same time be guided by an administrative council, and not by a parliament.⁵⁹

Parliamentarism is not only inappropriate in a monarchical state such as the Prussian, but it is a tired and outmoded system which has lost the glory lent it by the 'gentlemen' and aristocrats who once ruled British and German politics. Now

the institutions, the sense of tact and cautious observance of the amenities, are dying out with the old-style people of good breeding --- The relationship between party leaders and party, between party and masses, will be tougher, more transparent, and more brazen. That is the beginning of Caesarism.⁶⁰

Selfish individuals employ democratic forms of parliamentarism to make the "state" an executive organ of their own business interests, "i.e. by paying for election campaigns and newspapers and thus controlling the opinion of voters and readers".⁶¹ Thus, democracy, in general, is an unholy alliance of urban masses, cosmopolitan intellectuals, and finance capitalists. The masses themselves are manipulated by the latter two elements through their specific agencies, the press and the parties.⁶² The intelligentsia represent "abstract intelligence", not spiritual enlightenment, while the finance capitalists are supported by mobile fortunes distinct from the landed property of the true nobility.

In fact, the League of Nations itself is an instrument of big business, and is "in reality a system of provinces and protectorates whose populations are being exploited by a business oligarchy with the aid of bribed parliaments and purchased laws".⁶³ As for the so-called 'internationalism' of the modern Marxism, this is immediately recognized as a sham when one notes the diversity of races and of their responses to political movements. In fact, according to Spengler, the true 'International' is "only possible as the victory of the idea of a single race over all the

⁵⁹ *op.cit.*, p.88.

⁶⁰ *op.cit.*, p.89.

⁶¹ *op.cit.*, p.118.

⁶² See *The Decline of the West*, II, p.444; *Prussianism*, ch. 3 'Prussians and Englishmen'.

⁶³ *op.cit.*, p.118.

others, and not as the mixture of all separate opinions into one colorless mass".⁶⁴

Another admirer of Dühring's economic doctrines was the German Social Democratic leader, August Bebel (1840-1913), who in the journal *Volksstaat* of 20 March, 1874 described Dühring's latest economic work as belonging to "the best which the most recent period has brought forth in the economic field".⁶⁵ In 1878, Wilhelm Liebknecht, the Jewish Socialist, however warned Marx and Engels of Dühring's anti-Marxist economic views and thereby encouraged Engels to issue a refutation of Dühring's doctrines in a work entitled *Herr Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (1878) also called, in short, *Anti-Dühring*. Dühring reiterated his criticisms of Marx and Lasalle as the Jewish perverters of true socialist doctrine. Like Sombart after him, Dühring maintained that Marx had derived his theories partly from the Mosaic teachings and formed his international clan as a variant of the *Alliance israélite*.

Among the racialistic nationalists who came under Dühring's influence we may mention the German nationalists in Czechoslovakia, Hans Krebs and Rudolf Jung who were important figures in the National Socialistic movement in the Sudetenland. One of the members of the Nationalist movement in Bohemia, Matthäus Joksch, a union organizer, publicly declared in 1900 that Dühring's teachings represented a total reformation of society "in favor of all honest work, so that capital receives only a moderate remuneration, and in place of the present renting of labor by capital, labor will rent capital".⁶⁶ The most important of the Austrian nationalists who came under the influence of Dühring was Georg Ritter von Schönerer (1842-1921) who spearheaded the nationalist movement in Austria which was to be the nurturing ground for Hitler's ideology. Dühring's influence on Schönerer's anti-Semitism, which was established through the latter's university contacts, is revealed in the doctrinal stance that the latter took at the Deutsche Klub in 1887, where he declared that

⁶⁴ *op.cit.*, 111.

⁶⁵ Quoted in G.-K. Kaltenbrunner, 'Vom Konkurrenten des Karl Marx zum Vorläufer Hitlers: Eugen Dühring', in K. Schwedhelm (ed.), *Propheeten des Nationalismus*, p. 46.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Alois Ciller, *Vorläufer des Nationalsozialismus*, Vienna, 1932, pp.28-9.

we --- make no secret of regarding anti-Semitism not as a regrettable symptom or disgrace, but as the main prop of national thought, the chief means of promoting a disposition genuinely based on the people, and thus the greatest achievement of the century.⁶⁷

Schönerer's pan-German movement was outlined in the Linz Programme published in 1882 which included eleven points of economic and political measures to be taken to strengthen Germany unity. To these points a twelfth was added in 1885 stating that "The removal of Jewish influence from all sections of public life is indispensable for carrying out the reforms aimed at". Schönerer's pan-Germanism was not quite successful since it did not have the support of the peasants and the factory workers or of the aristocrats and the big industrialists; for the most part, it was a middle and lower-middle class movement. However, the tenacity of Schönerer's pan-Germanist movement is revealed in the fact that soon after the disintegration of his own party, there was formed the new German Nationalist Party (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) in 1903-4, which in turn was the forerunner of the Deutsche National-sozialistische Arbeiterpartei of Austria.

The social effect of Dühring's work can be estimated more generally in the anti-Jewish Congresses organized, first at Dresden in 1882, and then at Chemnitz in 1883. At the latter, a division occurred on account of the ideological differences between those who favored Dühring's more uncompromising views and the Christian elements at the meeting. However, a loose confederation of 'Reformvereine' sprang up in the 1880's and by 1890 there were 136 of them. As Peter Pulzer reports, the extreme view, associated with Dühring, predominated in Westphalia, under the leadership of Dr. König. While the state social legislation of Bismarck served to allay the enthusiasm regarding the Jewish problem somewhat and to disintegrate these anti-Jewish organisations, the movement acquired a new impetus from the leadership of Theodor Fritsch in Leipzig who revitalised it according to the extremist point of view. It was Fritsch's call for an anti-Jewish organisation "above the parties"⁶⁸ which created such seminal nationalist societies as the Thule Society and the

⁶⁷ Quoted in P. Pulzer, *The rise of political anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, p.202.

⁶⁸ *Hammer*, XI (1912), 153-58, 'Vom partei-politischen Antisemitismus'.

Germanen order. It is true that the latter were in fact not so directly influential on the NSDAP itself, which - though created initially by Karl Harrer (along with Anton Drexler) at the suggestion of the Germanen order that several economic 'Rings' of the society should be set up all over the country - ultimately proscribed the Germanen order for its overly Masonic qualities.⁶⁹ Even Hitler does not refer to Dühring in his works and was more familiar (even personally) with Houston Stewart Chamberlain's racialism. Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi ideologue, however wrote a work on the Jewish question very similar to Dühring's called *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (1920). In it he discusses first the historical circumstances of the Jews from their diaspora after the destruction of Jerusalem to their various interventions in modern European politics. The second section deals with the Jewish mentality as revealed in its religious documents and cultural and economic works. The work ends with a discussion of the Jewish ambition for economic and political mastery of the world and suggests ways of curbing this tendency forthwith in Germany. The points contained in Rosenberg's anti-Jewish programme are in many ways similar to the points of the Nürnberg Laws of 1935.⁷⁰

Thus, even if it may not have had an immediate political connection with the programmes of the Nazi regime, the extraordinary value of Dühring's work on the Jews consists in its prophetic accuracy. Dühring's systematic uncovering of the viciousness of the Jewish character and his suggestions for the removal of this evil bear the closest resemblance to the increasing anti-Semitic mood, ideological as well as popular, and the actual course of anti-Semitic events in Germany in the thirties and forties. Starting with the measures to exclude Jews from official positions and the prohibition of intermarriages between Jews and Germans promulgated in the Nürnberg Laws of 1935 and ending with increasing irritation with the very presence of Jews on German soil, the anti-Judaic programmes of the Nazis were anticipated almost to the last detail by the blind philosopher of Berlin. Between the first appearance of Dühring's work and the first major political mass-measures taken against the Jews by the National Socialist regime there had elapsed a rather long period of about sixty

⁶⁹ See Reginald H. Phelps, "'Before Hitler came': Thule Society and Germanen order', *Journal of Modern History*, 35 (1963), 245-61.

⁷⁰ see below p. 44f

years; neither Jews nor Jewish sympathisers can blame the Germans for having been too rash in their dealings with a racial group whose social and cultural influence had been philosophically identified as morally criminal.

The claims of George Mosse and Donald Niewyk that the brutalization of German politics was spurred by the defeat of 1918⁷¹ is only partially accurate, since the sharp turn of anti-Semitic trends in the Weimar Republic was actually propelled by the blatant arrogation of power by those very Jewish elements whom intellectual anti-Semites from the start had sought to expel from German society through kinder means. The moral corruption associated with Jewish finance and mores showed no signs of improving since the first publication of Dühring's work but, rather, achieved a giddy triumph at the end of the first World War in the ill-fated Weimar Republic, which was initially established as a Socialist republic by Karl Liebknecht, the Jewish agitator, and conducted in a markedly Jewish social and political climate. It cannot be very surprising to one who is familiar with Dühring's analysis of the Jewish ethos and its role in modern Germany that the Germans reacted to this ethos with a populist movement such as Nazism. Those sections of the population which suffered most from the sense of exploitation at the hands of the Jewish economic and social system naturally supported a German nationalist movement which sought in the end to destroy the Jewish evil at its very roots. As Dühring had foretold, "The German, to be sure, moves his limbs mostly only when the usurpations become too malicious; but if he does that once, then he does that which he undertakes, no matter what, also in a fundamental way".

In retrospect, therefore, we may consider the Nazi movement as being in no way an aberration but one which was clearly predicted in advance by philosophical understanding. Historical discussions of Hitler's regime which puzzle over the extreme measures taken by it against the Jews and Jewish Bolshevism and quickly dismiss it as the product of the

⁷¹ See George Mosse, "Der erste Weltkrieg und die Brutalisierung der Politik: Betrachtungen über die politische Rechte, den Rassismus, und den deutschen Sonderweg", in Manfred Funke et al. (ed.), *Demokratie und Diktatur: Geist und Gestalt in Deutschland und Europa*, Düsseldorf, 1987, pp. 127-139 and Donald Niewyk, "Solving the 'Jewish problem': continuity and change in German antisemitism, 1871-1945", *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 35 (1990), p.370.

monstrous psychological complex of an individual are clearly handicapped by their unfamiliarity with the real philosophic impetuses of an ideological political movement such as the Nazi one. Peter Pulzer's suggestion that Hitler was merely relying on "the political effectiveness of anti-Semitism",⁷² for instance, seems not to understand that anti-Semitism was in its origins, and throughout its career in the early years of this century, not a mere tool in German politics (except perhaps in the case of Bismarck) but the very aim of it.⁷³

The Nazi phenomenon was and is not a passing one which the German people have or could successfully overcome with the defeat of Hitler's regime at the end of the second World War. It is the populist nemesis which will inevitably set in when necessary steps are not taken at an earlier stage by Conservative and Socialist politicians against the disintegration of European society by the Jews. The failure of the Nazis was due primarily to its rashness both in internal politics and foreign policy. The hasty foreign political moves made by Hitler at a time when neither the German people nor the remainder of the European nations had yet been forged into true racially and culturally integral communities could not but fail. The world-historical solution to the evil of Judaism which had been recommended by Dühring had been enforced on Europe with brute force without the necessary philosophical prerequisite of the personal enlightenment and liberation of the individuals constituting society. Besides, the powerful influence of the Jewish presence in America and Britain was not reckoned with adequately to forestall the defeat at the hands of the Allies. The real tragedy of the second World War, however, is that the failure of the Nazi movement and the discovery of the Nazi attempts to eliminate the Jewry in Germany have only succeeded in handing over the sympathy of the public to the very elements which formed the pivotal issue of the war. The corruption and degeneration that Dühring and the Nazis attempted to check have proceeded with redoubled

⁷² Peter Pulzer, *The rise of political anti-Semitism*, London: Peter Halban, 1988, p.202.

⁷³ cf., in this context, the excellent study of Roger Griffin, *The nature of Fascism*, London: Pinter Publishers, 1991, where he points out that German Fascism can be explained only in terms of a "palingenetic" effort on the part of the German nation to rid itself of all Jewish forms of social and political life.

vigour after the war, and the enslavement of the European peoples to the Jewish baseness and vulgarity has become almost complete. The danger of another reprisal against the Jews is therefore greater now than fifty years ago. The lesson to be drawn from our study of Dühring's prophetic philosophical work on the Jewish character can thus be only a cautionary one, for the conditions of Jewish mastery of society today are clearly more predominant at the turn of this century than they were at the end of the last.⁷⁴ If the Jews do not voluntarily agree to such restrictions of their influence on European society and culture as the deepest and most humane philosophers have already recommended, it is fully within the realm of possibility that they will expose themselves once again to the revenge of the masses when the latter are awakened to the exploitation, intellectual as well as material, that they inevitably suffer from the Jewish

⁷⁴ See for example Wilmot Robertson, *The dispossessed majority*, Cape Canaveral, FL: Howard Allen Press, 1976, Ch.15, p.178f., where he points out that "what is happening today in the United States today is what has been happening throughout much of Western history. The Jews, finding themselves unrestricted and uncurbed in a land rich in resources and labour, are rapidly monopolizing its wealth. It is almost certainly the same historic process that took place in Visigothic, Arabic and Catholic Spain, in medieval England, France and Germany - and most recently in twentieth century Germany. Yet no one cares - or dares - to notice it. Those who are so concerned about labor monopolies or business cartels, about the influence of the Roman Catholic Church or the military-industrial complex, about the WASP domination of the big corporations or the international Communist conspiracy, seem strangely silent and utterly unconcerned about the activities of an ever more powerful, ever more dominant, supranational ethnocentrism with almost unlimited financial resources at its command". The reason for the relative silence regarding the Jewish power in America is of course, as Robertson himself shows, the domination of the press and the media in America by the Jews. Not only does this domination help to curtail criticism of the political and commercial manipulations of the Jews but it also, more harmfully, forces the Jewish vulgarity in well-nigh irresistible doses onto the gullible masses through the film, television, music, and sports industries financed and administered in large part by the Jews.

financial manipulations.⁷⁵ If the steps suggested from a genuinely Conservative and Socialist standpoint are not followed, then the only alternative that the Jews will face will be the more drastic steps taken by demagogues, who may find in Dühring's final solution of the Jewish problem a more lasting remedy of the problem of social exploitation by middlemen.

The steps suggested by Dühring in the first editions of the *Judenfrage* may thus serve as a guideline to more reasonable conservative politicians for the task of social reformation. The anti-Semitic programme outlined by the moderate Nazi ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg⁷⁶ in his *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten*, may also be considered as a clear formulation of the task, for he insists there that it should be established by German legislation that

1. The Jews are recognized as a nation living in Germany. Religious confession or lack of confession play no role.
2. A Jew is one whose parents, whose father or mother, are Jews by nationality, a Jew is from now on one who has a Jewish spouse.
3. The Jews do not have the right to indulge in German politics in word, writing, and action.
4. The Jews do not have the right to assume state official positions and to serve in the army either as soldiers or as officers. For that work performance comes into question.
5. The Jews do not have the right to be leaders in political and communal cultural institutions (theatres, galleries, etc.) and to assume professor and instructor positions in German schools and universities.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ It may be noted here that there is a newly formed Thule Society in Germany today, as well as a very active neo-Nazi movement.

⁷⁶ Rosenberg was clearly not responsible for the harsher steps taken against the Jews by the Nazi regime and at most only carried out orders given to him by the higher command (see Robert Cecil, *The myth of the master-race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi ideology*, London, 1972 and James L. Whisker, *The social, political and religious thought of Alfred Rosenberg: an interpretive essay*, Washington, D.C., 1982).

⁷⁷ The only department that Jews may be admitted to legitimately as instructors is that dealing with specifically Jewish Studies and Semitic languages. Similarly, Jews may be permitted to undertake studies in western music performance, but Jewish composers may not be accepted

6. The Jews do not have the right to participate in political or communal test-, control-, censorship-, etc. commissions.

The Jews do not have the right to represent the German Reich in economic conventions; they do not have the right either to be represented in the directorship of the state banks and the communal credit institutions.

7. Foreign Jews do not have the right to settle permanently in Germany. Acceptance into the German state union is to be denied to them in all circumstances.

8. Zionism must be powerfully supported, in order to promote yearly a certain number of German Jews to Palestine or, in general, over the borders."⁷⁸

The only difference between Rosenberg and Dühring here is, of course, that the former still considers Zionism as a solution to the Jewish problem whereas Dühring thought that the creation of an Israeli state would only mean giving another head to the Jewish serpent.

The chief organs of Jewish finance, the presses, must be deJudaized as completely as possible and the media likewise. The most important transformation, however, will be the replacement of the Jewish capitalist institutions by more corporative ones which do not contain Jewish ele-

into the repertory so long as their music betrays its racial origins. The example of Mendelssohn is a revealing one, since it points to the occasional artistic competence of the Jews so long as they are strictly controlled socially. Mendelssohn's pre-Romantic music was written before the full emancipation of the Jews in Germany. On the other hand, Mahler's imitations of Wagner's music bear the typical Jewish hybrid quality of attempted Germanic sublimity juxtaposed jarringly with the native Jewish discordances. In time, the former element disappears entirely and the latter truly Jewish character is all that is left in the Jewish music. It is not surprising, therefore, that modernist classical music is announced most strikingly in Schönberg's complete dissolution of the classical tonality in his atonal caricature of the ancient Indo-European modal system. In America, Jewish composers like Gershwin and Bernstein and Sondheim have been less pretentious and expressed themselves most comfortably in the homely jazz idioms of the negro.

⁷⁸ *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten*, München: Verlag Franz Eher Nachfolger, 1939, pp.152f.

ments in them. Corporatism as it is found in the present-day liberal economics especially in Austria, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands is still one ruled by the economists and not by the sense of social coherence which is the genuine basis of corporatism.⁷⁹ The reorganization of corporatism in European and American economy would have to involve the state somewhat more closely as a mediator of semi-autonomous economic units if not as a centralistic economic director. The representation of the needs and duties of the public in the political process must also be conducted not through political parties serving commercial interests but through the corporative framework itself. The distribution of property, as in German Socialism as well as in true Conservatism, should be directly related to the talent and capacity of the individual holding it and not dependent on the unthinking vagaries of capitalistic fortune or the senseless sharing and equal distribution of property of a Communistic society. All economics, finally, should be subservient to political morality wherein the individual self-interest is dominated by the sense of commitment to the community. In this context, the neo-Proudhonian project of a federalistic reorganization of Europe according to 'ethnies' or the 'linguistic and cultural individuality' of European groups⁸⁰ points the way to the future exclusion of the Jews, who come under the category of those who "despite linguistic and cultural independence have no or only an insufficient national awareness",⁸¹ from the social and political affairs of the European peoples. It must be pointed out that the current movement of 'integral federalism' which derives mostly from Proudhon and the Jewish neo-Proudhonian, Alexandre Marc, is predominantly a Franco-Jewish phenomenon and should be supplemented by the German version of federalism propounded by Constantin Frantz in his major work, *Der Föderalismus* (1879), since Frantz makes clear in this treatise the unsuitability of Jews

⁷⁹ See Alan Cawson, *Corporatism and Political Theory*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, and Grahame Thompson, *The political economy of the new Right*, London: Pinter Publishers, 1990.

⁸⁰ See Guy Héraud, "Fédéralisme et groupes ethniques", *L'Europe en formation* 9 (1968), pp.18-22, and "Qu'est-ce que l'ethnisme?", *L'Europe en formation* 7 (1966), pp.76-77; and also L. Roemheld, *Integral Federalism: model for Europe - a way towards a personal group society*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990.

⁸¹ L. Roemheld, *Integral Federalism*, p.369.

for a federative organisation of European states, "since the ideal of the chosen people does not aim at a free union of nations but above all at ruling all other peoples".⁸² With regard to America and the other immigrant countries like Canada and Australia, it may be noted that, while federalism of the European sort may not be fully applicable to them, a general reorientation of the government and society in these countries from the current fashion of multiculturalism to the political and social standards of the predominant racial group, that is, of the British, should help to remove the pernicious influence of the Jews in them.

In the final analysis, the most permanent changes in human society, as Dühring insisted, are those that arise from the inward reformation of the individuals constituting it. The sense of loyalty and honesty and duty that are the hallmarks of the Indo-European character must therefore direct the reorganisation of society in such a way that not the least scope is given to the Jewish profiteering mentality to thrive in its midst once again. In other words, the Indo-European must become conscious once again of the distinction of his spiritual and moral constitution as opposed to the stunted mentality of the Jew - and consciously avoid it. Only then will the true spiritual culture which is the final aim of society and politics begin to be gradually developed and the disruption of Western civilisation in the last hundred years by the infiltration of Jewish corruption be overcome in a lasting manner.

... were obviously ineffective, and Dühring therefore reversed his earlier view on the efficacy of anti-Jewish legislations in general. The case of the ritual murders may have been one of the major reasons for his abandoning of almost all his earlier visionary plans for the solution of the Jewish problem and for his advocating instead, in the fifth edition, a more conclusive (even if not very specified) way of getting rid of the Jewish menace so that "communism and communal systems — do not leave any room for Hebrew influence".⁸³ I have added the final sections of the last chapter of the

... Dühring makes no mention, even in the posthumous edition (ed. H. ... (ward) of his *Judenfrage*, of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* ... in a German translation in 1919 by Gottfried Beck under the ... (onym, Ludwig Müller von Hausen), which in fact confirms the ... into the social and political effects of the Jewish character as ... The authenticity of the *Protocols* ...

⁸² *Der Föderalismus*, Mainz: Franz Kirchheim, 1879, p.370.

Eugen Dühring

A note on the text

The Jewish question

I have used the second edition of the *Judenfrage* since it represents the original intentions of Dühring in a slightly more expanded form than manifest in the first edition. The major shift in emphasis with regard to Dühring's plans for the solution of the Jewish question comes in the fourth and fifth editions of the work which include accounts of the reports of Jewish ritual murder in Tisza-Eszlarer (1882), Xanten (1892), Polna and Konitz (1899). Although the accusations of Jewish criminality in these cases were ultimately reversed by the law-courts, Dühring considers this only as further proof of the domination of the judicial and press system by the Jews. The popular demonstrations against the murders of the children in these places were obviously ineffective, and Dühring therefore reversed his earlier view on the efficacy of anti-Jewish demonstrations in general. The case of the ritual murders may have been one of the major reasons for his abandoning of almost all his earlier exclusionary plans for the solution of the Jewish problem and for his advocating instead, in the fifth edition, a more conclusive (even if not fully specified) way of getting rid of the Jewish menace so that "communities and communal systems --- do not leave any room for Hebrew existence".⁸³ I have added the final sections of the last chapter of the

⁸³ Dühring makes no mention, even in the posthumous edition (ed. H. Reinhardt) of his *Judenfrage*, of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (published in a German translation in 1919 by Gottfried Beek under the pseudonym, Ludwig Müller von Hausen), which in fact confirms the insights into the social and political effects of the Jewish character as detailed by Dühring in his *Judenfrage*. The authenticity of the *Protocols* has of course been disputed, but whether it was composed by a Jew or by

fifth edition in my Appendix so that the reader may perceive the difference between Dühring's solution of the Jewish problem in the first editions and that contained in the last editions.

A note on the text

I have used the second edition of the *Jahrbuch* since it represents the original intention of Dühring in a slightly more expanded form than manifest in the first edition. The major shift in emphasis with regard to Dühring's plans for the solution of the Jewish question comes in the fourth and fifth editions of the work which include accounts of the reports of Jewish ritual murder in Tassa-Eszterak (1882), Xanten (1892), Pöls and Kowitz (1899). Although the accusations of Jewish criminality in these cases were ultimately refuted by the law-courts, Dühring considers this only as further proof of the domination of the judicial and press system by the Jews. The popular demonstrations against the murders of the children in these places were obviously ineffective, and Dühring therefore reversed his earlier view on the efficacy of anti-Jewish demonstrations in general. The case of the ritual murders may have been one of the major reasons for his abandonment of almost all his earlier exclusionary plans for the solution of the Jewish problem and for his advocating instead, in the fifth edition, a more conciliatory (even if not fully specified) way of getting rid of the Jewish menace as that "communitarian and communal systems — do not leave any room for Hebrew existence." I have added the final sections of the last chapter of the

an anti-Semite, its project of world-domination through the moral ruination of the European peoples is consonant both with the Dühringian analysis of the Jewish character and with the actual facts of social and political history upto the present day (see, in this connection, *Nation Europa*, 1970, Heft 5, p.4ff.).

Eugen Dühring

Foreword

**The Jewish question
as a racial, moral and cultural
question
- with a world-historical answer.**

(Karlsruhe: H.Reuther, 1881)

Foreword

Already for many years, in my exposition and historical account of different sciences, I have been forced to go into the racial character of the Jews. In the field of science and literature indeed the more intellectual perception of the disturbing influences of that character finds itself disadvantaged, whereas a coarser sense already notices the corresponding thing in the intercourse of common life. But now, since - along with the progressing history and basic enlightenment of the peoples - all questions of race and nationality emerge increasingly into the foreground, I have decided to complete that which I have stated on the Jews in my different works through the addition of a total presentation of the entire matter, ramified in all directions, and to incorporate, in this way, the Jewish question as a component in the general political as well as social sciences. Hereby the matter is systematised and taken up as an indispensable knowledge of the accomplishments of culture and humanity.

Through certain and clear knowledge a definite and decisive will is made possible. This is shown by my sketch of the political and social solution of the Jewish question. It is based on world-historical facts and necessities and does not stop short of any historical consequence which may be demanded by morals, humanity, and culture and is compatible with political and social freedom, as it must be the lode-star of the modern peoples. It has brought me special satisfaction to bring, through a special principle, the principles of political and social freedom of the peoples in consonance with the conduct which *must* be established vis-à-vis the Jews, if the general freedom of modern nations should not suffer, on account of the Jews, and its general legislation be reduced in character to a low level. Through this sort of treatment of the matter the reader will soon be convinced that my attempt has been directed not to the presentation of an occasional piece but to the ascertainment of lasting traits and far-reaching principles.

In the acceptance which the present work has immediately found in its first edition among all strata of the public I believe I may see a confirmation of my effort. This was directed to something popular and practical without giving up in the least a deep scientific foundation and a sharp criticism penetrating to the remotest causes. The first edition of the work appeared in November of this year and already after four weeks a new one became necessary. However, it has been possible for me to bring in a number of individual additions and improvements which I had worked on in the meantime. If now the work may carry along with it in its repeated publication yet another special observation, let it be this, that the reader should realise that it, like all my other works, has held itself fully independent of every political and social party or other political power-position.

Finally, let me be permitted to touch on yet another small formality. Often, copies of my works come to me with the request for autographic signing of my name. To aid such sorts of eventualities, I have, from the outset, provided the foreword of every copy of the entire edition with a pen signature.

Berlin, December, 1880.

Chapter One

The social emergence of the Jews in recent times

1. A subject can from time to time fall prey to a very harmful ambiguity just through its name. The natural and justified content of the Jewish question is involuntarily or even deliberately obscured if the incorrect double meaning of the term 'Jew' is falsely used to characterize the Jewish question as indicating one of the Jewish religion, that is, as a subject present on account of the Mosaic religion. From the Christian Middle Ages the custom has rooted itself among us of thinking in the first place of a religious difference. In this way did the term 'Jew' become falsely, and almost exclusively, an indication of religion, and the designation of a race or rather of a racial tribe which is hostile to the modern cultured nations became an incidental matter. That sort of enlightenment which in the 18th century directed itself principally against religious limitations and placed no value on racial characteristics has similarly contributed to the fact that in the Jews only the incidental matter, instead of the main matter, was taken into consideration. Precisely the educated had thereby become accustomed, in the most recent times, to think only of the religious labelling among the Jews. Now, since religionistic, that is, essentially superstitious, dogmas have in a positive way become increasingly insignificant from the standpoint of higher education, the fruit of this religious enlightenment has consisted, in general, in the fact of no longer taking the religion into account in the religious Jew and of considering him accordingly as if he were entirely what we are, but with the irremovable difference that he was born into one religion and we, however, into another religion and are likewise labelled by it. Even the Jews themselves have upto the present day striven for ways of putting down every criticism and every conduct against

them as if it were a matter of religious differences and prejudices and as if they were different from other peoples only through their religion.

But the lower class and the usual bourgeoisie have let their natural instincts and sentiments be deceived neither by the priests nor by the religious educators. They have always seen in the Jew something which was, no matter for what reason, not reconcilable with their own kind. The baptized Jew, thus the Evangelical or Catholic Jew, was and is considered by them, where they correctly understand their aversion to the Jewish type, always as essentially a Jew. This naturally grown feeling and this judgement based on immediate impressions was however misled originally by the priestly leaders and then by an inadequate religious instruction. The priests have taught the people falsely to imagine that it may not suffer the Jews on account of their deviant religion. The religious educators however, and among them indeed the Jewish or those directed by a Jewish way of thought, have provided to that falsification of the matter the equally falsifying counterpart. They have, in accordance with the priests, represented every aversion and measure against the Jews as something which had to do only with the Jewish religion and have accordingly made it a necessity, for the sake of religious tolerance, of suffering the Jew as he really is with all his characteristics and of considering other peoples equally. In this way the people and the nations have forgotten to understand their own feelings and experience correctly and to deal in a correct way with their opposition to the Jewry. Even the higher born classes which otherwise wish to know what origin and blood have to signify, have fallen prey to that obscuring of the racial- and national consciousness and have accustomed themselves to disguising their natural aversion to the Jews in the form of a protest against a religious form.

However, the basic understanding which sees in the Jew not a religion but a racial tribe is already breaking through decisively. Only, it is still, to a certain degree, distorted by the mixture of religion in it. But it lies in the interest of a noble mankind, thus of a true humanity and culture, that this obscurantism of religion, which has upto now covered and protected the worst characteristics of the Jews with its darkness, be fully removed so that the Jew may be revealed to us in his natural and inalienable constitution. Then the cultural characteristics developed from the racial nature can also be understood and measured; indeed even the religion will then get, not merely as a mirror of some characteristics, but independently, an evaluation which indeed diverges very much from that which the priests on the one hand and the religious instructors on the

other have made popular in terms of ways of judgement. It is however neither feasible nor beneficial to substitute, regularly and everywhere, a name with an old, well-known ring to it with a new way of characterisation. One may therefore say in brief - when one means the race - 'Jew', and not, rather, 'Semite'. The Jews are a definite small tribe of the Semitic race and not this entire race itself, to which, for example, once even the Phoenicians, remembered from destroyed Carthage, belonged. Arab-Bedouins are not of Jewish origin, but indeed Semites. The Jews are, on the other hand, the most vicious mintage of the entire Semitic race into a nationality especially dangerous to nations. The expression "Semitic" is among the Jews easily glossed over, and even the Jews are pleased more with it than with the name of generally familiar significance and popular understandability.

A Jewish question will exist even if all Jews turn their back on their religion and were converted to one of the ruling churches among us, or if all religion were already destroyed. Indeed I maintain that, in these cases, the opposition between us and the Jews would make itself felt as a still more pressing need than it is already the case without this. It has always been precisely the baptized Jews who have penetrated without hindrance most widely into all the channels of society and of the political life of the community. They have, as it were, provided themselves with a passport and pushed their tribe forward to where the religious Jews could not follow them. Even in our legislation, but especially in our administration, still many doors do not stand open to the religious Jews into which the mere racial Jew who has sold his religion can enter freely. A similar situation as with regard to the baptized Jews is brought about as soon as all state-citizenly rights and opportunities are accessible to the religious Jews. Thereupon they advance like those who have converted to Christianity on all paths of social and political life, and their impact on the nation in which they live becomes in this way perceptible. This happens even though there does not exist a situation in which, apart from the state, even the society has set the religious Jews as fully equal. For example, the influence of the religious sects is precisely so much more powerful in North America since they are subordinated by the administration to much that is considered by the legislation as having been made independent of religion. I therefore return to the supposition that there are nothing but mere racial Jews and no religious Jews any more, and, from all that the facts might teach us upto now as well as from the nature of the matter itself, I conclude that, if there were no longer anything but merely racial Jews and indeed no religious Jews at all, then the mosaic

laying-out of our racial foundation with the fragments of that small nation which was once existent would make the Jewish question only a more burning one. The mosaic in the panelling of our modern cultured nations or, in other words, the sprinkling of racial Jewry in the joints and folds of our national accommodations must, the more complete it becomes, lead so much more to a rebound. It is impossible that a close contact may take place without the knowledge becoming clear how incompatible with our best instincts the inoculation of the characteristics of the Jewish race into our condition is.

Henceforth the Jewish question lies much less behind us than before us. With regard to religion it has, to be sure, rather been a fact of the past; with regard to race, however, it is a very important subject of the present and the future. Imaginations of an extra-terrestrial realm of the beyond and of supernatural influences are the stuff of religions. Where reality is seen in its truth and without the veil of the imagination, there this chief constituent of religion recedes into the background and it loses the significance of the differences and oppositions which are attached to mere imaginations. What however does not pale but, on the contrary, emerges into a fresher natural colour is the physical and intellectual character of the peoples from which even those false religious imaginations were produced and received their character. In this sense even the religions receive an instructive significance as the embodiments of character qualities and dispositions. In this sense even the question of the religious Jewry is reduced at first into a smaller and cruder half and waits for its better answer in combination with the racial question.

2. If, in what follows, I speak without any further ado of the 'Jews', I use this terminology in its natural sense, thus, meaning origin and race. Among the total Jewish characteristics, religion or the aptitude for certain religions is only one component which, in relation to the remaining, cannot even amount to a tenth. The reformed Jew who modernises his own religion and seeks to remove the coarsest superstitions from it, or indeed the Spinozistic Jew who seeks to translate his religion into a philosophical one, or finally the Jew giving himself out as atheistic and without religion who would like to affect so-called science - all these varieties in fact effect nothing that principally limits, let alone offsets, their racial characteristics. On the contrary, they transfer all that they borrow from the mind of other peoples into their original unchangeable way of thought. In the main they are Jews like the others, and their emergence from coarse superstition makes their purchase of moral characteristics even more visible and effective. It is however a matter of moral

attributes when the communication and the co-existence with other peoples come into question. The entire man, and not some religious confession, is what plays a role in social communal life. The total racial characteristics now reveal themselves in the conduct and must be studied both in the historical total conduct and in the activity of the individual. The characters of the peoples are recognized from the life-course of the peoples, just as the individual character from the life-course of the individual. The types of animal characters are represented in the habits and customs of the different animal species. The habits and customs of the human race are the corresponding ones, albeit on a higher level. The natural scientific way of observation is therefore displayed even here. At least it is sufficient for the bare foundations and is to be supplemented by an investigation which takes account of the influences proper to culture. But, since culture itself is only a creation from natural bases, everything remains connected, and, exactly as the original natural instincts are formed, so also do the cultural products which mature from them turn out. These natural associations linked to the animal characteristics extend up to that which one could call the ideals. The chosen, self-seeking people has also a corresponding ideal, or rather an idol. It wishes to see all peoples made a serving subject for its chosen self-interest and has conducted itself everywhere and at all times in accordance with the standard of this goal. But I do not have to anticipate here; the racial characteristics will be revealed piece by piece in the course of our survey. They will indeed be united, even systematised, into a uniform and inwardly logical character portrait. For the time being, however, it is not this innermost but the externally tangible, actual and immediate quality which we have to look around for.

The Jewish question does not limit itself to a people; it is a question of nations. It concerns society still more than the state; it has to be answered from an international perspective. On the whole, Germany, Austria, Russia, France, indeed even England and North America, as the most influential cultured states, are more or less involved. But the limit is not here. Wherever the chosen nomadising people have penetrated, there is for the society a Jewish question which comes to consciousness increasingly clearly and correctly with the progress of history and enlightenment. This manifold ramification however does not exclude the fact that there may be a focus in some place. At present this focus is clearly Germany. The political centre of this Reich is a city for many generations strongly pervaded by the Jewish element. What however makes Berlin today the focus of the Jewish question is moreover the fact that the politics favored

from there since the sixties and still more in the seventies has helped the Jews not merely to the surface but to a mastery previously unheard of. The reaction has set in. The German population has aroused itself and one has found it accordingly good, even in the leading circles, to permit the popular and national reaction and to consider once again - with attempts at restrictions - the field in which one had let the Jewry proliferate in politics and society. It is, in the meanwhile, easier to drive out the Jews than to invite these guests once again to one's own table. The society will have a hard task even merely to reestablish the disturbed balance and, in this way, to protect the health of the life of the people and nations once again.

The Jews have recently played their most powerful role in an era whose predominant characteristic has been a rising social corruption. To be sure, corruption has not been lacking even otherwise and in other places, sometimes in a smaller, at others in a higher measure; but what we have directly experienced in the decades of the Bismarckian era has also crossed the usual measure of depravity so much that it will receive even in this context an outstanding place in history. The war era which began with the sixties in Germany has undergone an internal decomposition of loyalty and confidence which has undermined all conditions disastrously and made even private communication increasingly more uncertain. The commercial lies and deception which are otherwise only a component of the situation and are indeed gladly hidden have now become the predominant rule and consider it to be superfluous to hold themselves, along with their manners, in the background. Shame has been put away in a manifold manner and the snub of better ways of conduct is a satisfaction which the worst elements may openly permit themselves. The society has been so crippled by the moral poison in many places that it can no longer stir its limbs to a counter-move. To speak of the loyalty of man with regard to man as something which must be present to some degree so that a society and a communal life may exist in the long run even just reasonably - and of a loyalty in commerce as an indispensable means of binding - that today is to call forth a mockery of the facts, and indeed of both the private facts and the public. The bad elements of the society will come forward and say: we know, even without that, how to form a communal system together. But this is wrong. It is only the old customs which even now, in spite of the means of disintegration, hold up something and restrain the corruption in its spread to a certain degree.

What, now, has been the role of the Jews in this corruption? Are they the founders of this decay? Are they the bearers of the corruption

which has spread itself so extremely in the last generations in our society? Where the Jews are in the foreground, there is the most corruption. This is a basic fact of all cultural history and all cultural geography. One could, according to this characteristic, draw a map, extend it over the countries, indeed over the entire world, and in this way even derive the profile of history, in that one made the mixture of populations with Jews in the different centuries and millennia its measure. One would, in this way, obtain an entire atlas of corruption. From this, however, it does not follow that the Jews had the power everywhere to make by themselves the condition of corruption which in each case comes into question. To presuppose something like this, however, would mean to overvalue their capacities, which even in the bad do not reveal themselves as significant or indeed original. The Jew creeps after the general corruption which he finds or scents somewhere in order to do with it as he does with everything - that is, in order to exploit it for himself and his chosen, self-seeking, mostly commercial, goals and for his own sort of corruption. The Jew is, according to this, in his most proper place where he can become the parasite of a corruption already present or manifesting itself. Where he feels in his manner most at home in the flesh of the peoples, there one may indeed watch if it is still healthy. Where estates, classes or groups complain of disadvantaging by the Jewry not merely the Jewish customs and decay of morals will be responsible for it along with their own corruption, but the closer investigation will often also show that, in the realm of those elements, something is not in order which offers the Jew the lever to conduct its existence especially there.

3. The bad as well as the good participate in the making of opportunities for the expansion of the Jews and of the Jewish influence. It is not only the corruption of other peoples which spurs the Jew on to add to his own, and to make an advantageous business for himself in this way, but it is unfortunately also the modern social freedom and the modern human rights which the Jew knows to turn to his profit. The great French Revolution, still the only significant awakening, in the sense of general human rights and corresponding freedom, has with its consequences become the point of departure of a far-reaching emancipation of the Jews. Although, in comparison with it, the entire 19th century has borne the stamp of a reaction, its, in the narrow sense, civic effects have, however, precisely succeeded in the midst of the other reactions. The social civic accomplishments, that is, therefore, the commercial and political rights of those propertied classes which one has grown accustomed to call the bourgeoisie, have in fact remained secured and come more and more to power in

the different countries. Now, in this field also lies the domain of the Jewry. The latter have capitalized on the freedom and the better human rights, as they have on everything, in the sense of commercial uninhibitedness. They have exploited the measure of freedom which was available for the expansion of their commercial rule. They have used for their part that measure of equality which was realized in the sense of a propertied bourgeoisie to bring to power the chosenness of their tribe and to carry out the social enslavement to the utmost. Thus they have increased the lack of freedom under the appearance of freedom and inequality under the appearance of equality.

Where it is a question of the civic equal rights of the different elements of the population, the Jews have, as diversely as their ubiquitously scattered groups may have begun, always had a vanguard which consisted of people of their tribe and had the special task of advertising freedom and legal equality. These people could never have been fully serious with the issue of better human rights; for they had in mind, in fact, only the rights for the Jews. Regardless of this striving which basically distracts from the chief matter - and is indeed hostile to it - individual Jews however have conducted themselves and had to conduct themselves thereby in such a way that they effected even some real opposition to the condition of lack of freedom. In this way indeed have the Jews, earlier, been able to achieve some liberal popularity, and precisely this circumstance has extraordinarily favoured the expansion of their influence. I wish - instead of going immediately into the political Judaising of the party system - to recall here only some preludes in literature. Börne and Heine conducted, each in his own way - the former more with serious would-be affectations, the latter more with unrestrained fiction and poetry, and farcically - their opposition to the political situation of Germany. The lack of tasteful composure, indeed even of taste, was thereby an endowment of the Jewish tribe, and the secret baptism of both writers only sealed this deficiency further. They were even proper Jews who sought to sell their religion therewith, but, since this business did not turn out according to expectation, made the hindrances which the state and the society decided for them their form of war. I come back to these two persons in the question of the capacity of the Jews for science and art. Here I wished to have recalled only that they represent those types and those ways of conduct through which the Jewry have found even outside their circle a certain resonance, indeed have obtained among the educated strata, at least partially and temporarily, a certain measure of sympathy.

What the Jews have conducted in certain times in the political opposition has been in their mind their own need for emancipation. In this way they have themselves become, through the state of affairs, co-agents of those who concerned themselves really with universal freedom, or even comrades of those who, like the propertied classes, had in view, under the motto of freedom, only rights which preferably empowered their special class. From this is explained the strong mixture of all liberal and radical parties with Jewish elements, indeed with Jewish spokesmen. From this is explained also how the remaining society has been able occasionally to leap over its natural aversion to the race and its morality and to attribute for a time something better to the Jews. The Jews commended themselves through the eagerness with which they took to commercial undertakings and seized the commercial side of political affairs. They showed themselves quite characteristically as agents, that is, they were not actors in the sense of a significant action, but traders and commercial middle-men, as if it were a question of the network of agents in a insurance institution. They could play other roles that they wanted - but always such a sort of agent-network was the kernel of their activity. In literature they carried on trade with the political and social ideas which were set up by others. In the party-service they peddled the precepts and found a buyer for the programme which was started by others. Where they themselves attained to a function as political persons, for instance to a representative function, there they made themselves the negotiators and got round the political rights of the society, as if they were stocks and bonds on an money-changer's table. But they exchanged and changed only in such a way that they thereby made only a good business, and, so long as their own interest offered a more serious opposition to the real considerations of freedom of the society, their conduct was still actually in accord with them. On this accord was based their social development in the most recent times. Insofar as they have really served under the flag of freedom, no matter for what motives and in what way, this actual usefulness of theirs for the remaining peoples has served as a commendation for them among the latter. Even among us, the society has for a long time let itself be taken in by this Jewish freedom service. But disappointment followed soon enough. The decades from 1860 to 1880 have shown a contrary picture and the Jews themselves as the most zealous agents and euphemists of the lack of political freedom. The Jews have ruined all liberal parties to whose neck they clung, from common Liberalism to the so-called Social Democracy.

The age in question has been among us one of the undisturbed blooming of something which one must call not merely Jewish influence any longer but, already, Jewish rule. With this rule, to be sure, the Hebrews have forfeited once again in the entire society which stands on free and national soil everything which had earlier brought them some favour and consideration with regard to their characteristics. But this exposure does not yet cast them off immediately from their usurpations. It is clear therefore how even this influence which has risen to mastery has called forth a social counter-movement of a strength such as has not occurred among us for decades. A century ago, not only did Lessing come in with his play for tolerance for the Jews but he even found since then sufficient approval with this Jewish tendentious Nathan, upto the middle of our century. Precisely because his play had apparently as a goal the quite ordinary, that is, religious toleration, insofar as it is caused by a departure from the coarsest superstition, and made the remaining Jewish glorification inconspicuous behind that, it found approval not only in the Jewish society. Where one wished enlightenment and freedom, there one found it right also to disregard prejudices, which were represented as merely rooted in superstition. But since the Jew has had opportunity to manifest himself along with his character in a quite different way from that which Lessing's Jewish-related - or rather, as good as Jewish - pen wished to make apparent, the prestige of that half-Enlightenment into which our good natured German national nature sympathetically dreamed itself has fallen away from the tangible reality. We know now that we have to preserve our ideals from all-sided legal toleration as pearls which one does not throw everywhere with impunity. Thus the knowledge has indeed arrived late, but so much more penetratingly. The Jews themselves act in a perceptibly frightened manner. They act as if it were a question of their religion in a medieval manner and one wished to make a reckoning with them regarding their Mosaic dogmas. They assume the appearance as if the pieces of their religion should be decisive for the conduct of the remaining society against them. They hide the reason well known to them. They give themselves - insofar as it is possible at all - the appearance of knowing nothing of race or indeed of racial harmfulness, and suppress in their defences the points of political and social complaint. They have the feeling of having betrayed the remaining world all too strongly in the last generation, and they would like to see everything silent and silenced away, indeed they would like most of all that one did not speak of them as Jews at all. But they do not succeed any more with this tactic since the peoples have begun to orientate themselves with

regard to them in a so-called naturalistic way. Among us, the political role which the Jews have played as a result of the latest corruption buried their moral credibility. While the Jews earlier had a share, through their participation in the freedom movements, in a lenient judgement of their otherwise unpopular characteristics, they have now forfeited, through their participation in works of falsification of freedom, every claim to the concession of milder circumstances and have fallen victim to a public judgement which has matured within the society from the bottom upwards in a natural way in view of the tangible facts and which has announced itself with a corresponding insistence.

4. In order to completely survey and appropriately measure what has been ruined in the decades in question with the aid of the Jews one must estimate two things. First, the press in recent times has become increasingly more an instrument of politics, and indeed not merely that of the parties, which it always was, but also that of the government. Secondly, the Jews are predominantly the owners of the newspapers and other general journals through which the public, mostly without noticing it, is led and educated. This ownership of the press is an almost exclusive one in the field of the so-called Liberal or also radical organs, but is also predominant in the Conservative press. The complaint that the press is in the hands of the Jews is repeated in different countries. Germany and Austria, in this context, stand at the top and to them is equally linked France with its Jewry centralised in Paris and its newspaper and journalistic literature infiltrated by Jews. The newspapers are an article of possession, not to mention a sort of stocks and bonds. They are, however, not merely on the whole possessed and handled in a Jewish way, but they are also, in the details of their individual services, a counterpart of buying and selling. The literary profession is moreover one of the most dependent and mechanical. It demands in its dependence much discarding and denial of the better humanity. It is therefore not merely its free accessibility through which it has, in comparison to other professions, attracted the Jews from the start. This race has practiced this profession from the start as a mass because it suited most its bad constitution and its base requirements. In addition, the Jew always draws the Jew, and the Jewish owner of newspapers and journals could also conduct their business in the most unrestrained way with Jewish editors, correspondents, and colleagues. In fact, the trade in those wares which form the contents of the newspapers is not an all too honest one and must therefore work on the Jewish competition like a magnet. There are thereby around 95 per cent lies and distortions to be brought to the people, and the remaining 5 per cent are

also easily acquired and need in no way to be of special uprightness. A business conduct of such a sort has a specific attraction for people of the Jewish tribe. The pieces of silver are earned here too in an easy way. One therefore speaks no longer only of the fact that precisely the freedom and the accessibility of the journalistic profession have drawn the Jews in there. This race would have turned to this profession out of preference even if from the start still many other opportunities had stood open to them. Here the statement is confirmed that corruption is a magnet which attracts the Jew.

What is true in general of the press, insofar as this is an instrument of money and makes the latter a Moloch to which all higher interests fall a victim, is true in still higher measure when and where the press comes into a situation corresponding to their talents. Two things belong to corruption, that is, demand and supply, therefore an active part which corrupts and a passive which lets itself be corrupted or offers itself to corrupt conduct. There must be people and funds to buy; then it will become clear where and how many saleable wares are present. I already noted above that it is false in a world-historical as well as in a particular case to consider the Jews as the sole causers of the corruption of peoples. What the Jews create really independently of corruption is only a part of that which they, in connection with other corruption, increase through their serviceability and raise to a colossal degree. So is it now also with their operation of the press. They run this their most personal and most profitable domain according to the opportunity, and, to speak in a national economic way, according to the condition of the market. If, in the political market, there is, in any historical phase, an especially lively desire for corrupt press service, a veritable race will arise in order to meet the profitable demand with an extensive supply. The Israeli people will thereby win the palm or, to speak less metaphorically, the principal profit. It will be prepared for everything; for their slave-service to rigid authority, moreover, is indeed even a primordial component of the Jewish constitution, even as primordial as the unscrupulous attractive force towards the gold and silver of the Egyptians.

If no state-directing politicians are present with whom the Jews have been involved or occupied, the phenomenon of the Jews bearing the leading tone in almost the entire press would be impossible. We have had such an era in which our world fell prey, so to say, to the Jewish wit, and the latter is distinguished more by contemptibleness than really by sharp or indeed fine understanding. We have had a Jewish era with the appearance of Liberalism and one could be happy that one has in the meantime

got free of this phenomenon. The public reaction is still a lesser evil than the hidden one. Even Conservatism with all its defects and limitations is more bearable, if it follows its nature and also enters against the Jews in its own way, than where it was forced into that situation alien to it in which the coquetry with the Jews was part of the standard politics. The use of the Jewish press, as an inoculation machinery as it were, in order to make predominant in the society and in the nation what should everywhere appear as public opinion - this use of the Jewish press was, in view of the closely connected chain of the press Jewry, to be sure very comfortable. Even the press corps of the Jews stand always in preparedness of the command to set forth for every matter and against every matter, for the appropriate pay, without inquiring about right or wrong. But if something which in itself is favourable to the Jewry is further added to the pay and the bonuses, the Israelites are, even without a special *Alliance Israélite*, already instinctively and immediately a union and a chain which develops its entire twining and winding strength in the direction in which one lets it conduct, in this way, even the businesses of their own race.

Well-known is the vile manner in which the Jewish or half-Jewish writers take care to speak of the historical events which relate to Christianity. There, not a single positive judgement is to be encountered but only a vile baseness is visible. I shall show this more closely in the discussion of religion. I shall recall here only that the Jews in their superficiality turn most gladly to the Christian priests. These are the original rivals of the hereditary theocracy and precisely because the Jews themselves basically want the same thing, that is, an intellectual rule into which the worldly state is dissolved, they turn against the younger and competing offspring of their own theocratic conception in the most biting manner. Moreover, they know that only the levelling down of everything to which they could here and there affix ideal instincts levels the ground for the excavated Jewish view. Thus it has been a special pleasure for them to be able to draw against the Christian priests in the so-called *Kulturkampf*, not really to champion a better doctrine but simply to rub against competitors whose closed organisation most disputed the entry of the Jews into the popular circles. In the conflicts of the police-compelled authority of the state with the conscience police of the Roman Church, and in the battle of the twofold rights in which the medieval tradition renewed itself, the Jewish so-called Liberal press - but not merely this but, in all shades of the press as well as in the official newspapers, Jewry in general - worked most vigorously in secular politicality. In this genre

it has been able to let itself go in an uninhibited way; for hereby it found itself indeed to a certain degree still in its element of popularity - at least of that popularity which is to be sought in the Protestant population and thus also predominates in Germany. One has announced the political *faux-pas* which thought to advance against the Roman spirituality with mere police laws, through political advertisement, as a Kulturkampf, and the Jews have not failed to bring to bear here their experience in advertisement in order to attribute to this politics and to themselves a powerful cultural action. Yet those are failed incidental pieces. Let us turn to the fields in which a legislation of greater interest and of a significance penetrating into the life of the society has progressed.

5. From the feudal Conservative side, those laws which have been decreed among us since the sixties in the sense of national economic free movement are characterized principally as Jewish privileges. It means, however, granting the Jews too much honour if one sets their mind as the same as that from which similar laws arise throughout the world. Basically, the Jew is never for universal freedom, but always desirous of monopoly. The chosen people want finally to have also chosen rights. It is far different to satisfy oneself with equality. Hardly did they have emancipation than the expansion of their social network became an insufferable mastery and the appeal for the "emancipation of the Jews" the counterpart of that generously disposed freedom emerging from the mentality of equality. This change in situation occurs that the Jews, by virtue of their special aptitudes, misuse the freedoms and know to turn them into the opposite of what would correspond to the spirit of an equal and free legislation. Thus liberality in itself is a good thing, but the civilized nomadic life a bad one. The former requires the settling in the right place, the latter is established on grazing and exploitation in that it only seeks opportunities to appropriate with slighter effort what it itself has not worked for. National economic liberality is not a principle of peddling. It should serve to establish the settled form of life in the right places, but not to sanction the fluctuations of the Jewry as exemplary for other peoples.

Another example of legislation good in itself is that part of the freedom of business and contract which is called tax-freedom, and of the degeneration of which to freedom of usury precisely the Jews provide the basest example and the one considered the worst by the people. Now, I do not have to argue here that all such national economic freedoms are something inadequate and are misused, even without Jews, for the exploitation of the economically weaker, so long as positive social energies and

institutions are lacking among them which secure the balance of the economic forces or indeed create a political opportunity for offering resistance to the exploitation. But I can perhaps point to the fact that one would not indeed find usury among the Jews if it were merely the general economic natural laws according to which the tax businesses are formed. Refined exploitation of others' difficulties is not a natural and normal trading business. Morally healthy trade is based on other considerations and avoids that field. The Jew however finds himself by virtue of his peculiarity precisely drawn there where these corrupt businesses are to be made, whether the corruption of economic life which allures him to exploitation has its basis now in the general conditions or in personal neglect. Even here one may not forget that the Jews practice corruption which they indeed increase but which, however, they have not created alone. If the light-footed Junker, whether he be now an officer or an owner of property, falls into the usury-net of the Jew, this bad process is not the sole work of the Jew. If, on the other hand, everything were in order, the usurious Jewish credit would not be used. For healthy economic credit and even for mere consumption-loans whose return payment is expected in a proper way, other credit opportunities would have long been organised of an economically trustworthy sort, if the concerned elements and groups had taken it more seriously along with their economy from the outset. The natural meaning of usury is not that of crossing over certain percentages which are fixed by a law. This fixing is for the modern and universal trade only a powerless affectation. True usury has at all times and in all places, independently of arbitrary statutes, consisted in the exploiting of difficulty in a refined way, in the setting a price for personal need or discomfort, and in the loading of the possible risk with an enormous premium. This refinement however extends far beyond the interest business and operates in the formation of all relations of economic dependence where, on the one side, economic weakness and, on the other side, a mentality is present which seeks to enrich itself like a beast of prey from the injuries of neighbours. If the Jews here play a preferred role it is proved even through this that the national economic natural laws of supply and demand provide their final balance only in connection with moral prerequisites.

Why is the Jewry relatively far richer than the other social groups? The Jews themselves answer: on account of greater industriousness and economising. But that is only the old tale which they have learnt by listening to all elements unjustly rich. I therefore answer simply: it is the greater and more uninhibited instinct of appropriation which allowed the

Jews to suck up money from all channels of mankind. The economic freedom is therefore for them only a means in order to exercise their unscrupulous exploitative villainy. The doctrines of equally free economy and of corresponding economic human rights, as they were formulated in a humanely well-disposed way by the Scots Hume and Smith, are used by the Jews only in order to head for their own monopoly. The Jews have dealt with the doctrines of economic freedom precisely as with the ideas of the Revolution. They have used both at first, then falsified, and finally, when they found themselves in possession of the part of freedom pleasant to them, indeed betrayed them every time. Even in the already somewhat degenerate form which one calls Manchesterism, those doctrines of economic freedom are still too noble for the Jews. The Manchesterian doctrine of parties which one, on the Conservative side, confuses deliberately and falsely with the Jewry, is only a party-related degeneration of those better accomplishments of humane theory. It accepts freedom of trade but ignores the equality which was directive in those achievements of knowledge. They transform economic freedom into a freedom of the propertied class. But the Jews have not yet come to the end of their desires with this degeneration. They wish to see basically a freedom of the Jews, that is a Jewish monopoly, made out of the freedom.

The influence of Jewish elements and the embodiment of the Jewish way of thought has revealed itself therefore in the so-called Liberal legislation not in the case of the real freedoms - which serve even the interest of the Jewry - but in the substitution of these freedoms with monopoly pressure. Thus, for example, the free legal profession, by virtue of which the lawyer, like the dentist, conducts his profession as a professional business dependent on no official nomination, is a progress in the sense of greater freedom. For the public there arises in this way a free supply from which it has the choice. But, how, in our most recent parliamentary legislation, it was not the public whose interests were decisive, is proved by the compulsory court representation introduced first by it, that is, the advocates' right of summons and coercion, by virtue of which every litigant is required to let himself be represented by an advocate. This institution is a bad step backwards with regard to the freer and more popular spirit which still led the legislation originating from Friedrich II. In such a point in which it is a matter of business and of a practice summoned and compelled for the same, the Jew finds the introduction of the lack of freedom in finest order and most highly liberal. As a result, he legislates in this sense. Jewish representatives in the German Parliament

have set in motion precisely such a sort of legislation lacking in freedom. It has a similar connection to the compulsory inoculation. The medical profession is perhaps, among all branches of learned occupation, next to literature, taken up most strongly by Jews. The artificial acquisition of an amount of demand for medical services is a point of view whose activity has become increasingly more uninhibited. Considered in a social economic way, thus disregarding the faith in inoculation itself, the compulsory inoculation is always a means by which an involuntary custom is brought to the medical profession. Such a thing is more than a monopoly; it is a right of summons and coercion and less innocent than the medieval, which extended only to something like brewing and grinding, but not into our blood. It has been the Jews, however, even here, who have approved, through the entire press and through their people and comrades in the Parliament, the right of compulsion as self-evident, have forced the stamp of mere commercialism everywhere on the effort of the doctors, and made the taxation of society through the forcing of medical service a principle.

I could go further here into the harmful spirit devoid of freedom in which precisely the Jews have violated our most recent legislation. A surprising inadequacy and dependence of the representatives of other elements has allowed it to occur in legislative assemblies that individual Jews attained a decisive role in legislation and this mishap has then embodied itself everywhere in the constitution of the laws. How, for example, would a Prussian guardianship ordinance have otherwise become possible in which the public supervision against exploitation of trust money and in general against lack of faith of the guardians was so reduced that it practically retained almost no effective security! *Laissez-faire* (to be sure, still veiled) commercial freedom, with the commitment of capitals to the, for all intents and purposes, almost arbitrary discretion of the guardians, is in fact everywhere an evil in the circumstances. But this is only an example of how the Jewish mass has penetrated into all our circumstances. Besides, the social influence of the Jews reaches indirectly much farther than it reveals itself at work, directly and personally, in the legislation. The Jews naturally do not act merely through people of their race, but push forward others who let themselves be led by them or in general join forces with them. The comrades and friends of the Jews then proceed in certain cases as hebraically as it is possible for them to do. Thus Berlin would have a long time ago forfeited its public loan-houses in favour of the businesses of Jewish security-loaners if the Jewish efforts to establish their will by an external and accidental decree

of the state power, in this case in the administration of the affairs of the Reich capital which they rule, had not been preliminarily checked. The city of Berlin stands under the Jewish influence still more decisively than the state has ever - and even in the most recent worst phase - been exposed to it. From the east come to this city from the different neighbouring provinces ever newer Jewish elements and indeed of such a sort as is never in the remotest considered even among the Jews of the world as one of the better ones. Yet this leads to details which are not in place here. It is enough that the increase of the population centralisation in Berlin has brought with it also a disproportionate collection of Jewish elements. The measure of their influence would now be a disturbance of the balance even if this influence did not belong to the unsalutary ones. Thus, however, it is a double disturbance when it must be estimated not merely according to its range but also according to its quality. Such a disproportionate representation of their own interests cannot be permitted to be claimed, even by any other - better - foreign race, without a harming of the commonalty. But what it means to expose so many veins of the social body to the Jewish blood as has occurred upto now will first fully be revealed when we have investigated the characteristics which belong unchangeably to them.

Chapter II

Character-reflection in religion and morality

1. All religions are, in their origin, a sum of popular imaginations, in which the instincts and chief affairs of the people in question are embodied. Since it is not differentiated so basically in the beginning between a beyond and a this-worldliness of Nature, as this is the case in the later stages of development of the religions, the popularly grown religious systems encompass in the beginning all of life and have a practical existential goal. They include not only morality, but also the law which, in spite of its elasticity, finds itself still too little separated from the morality of pure conscience. As soon as it comes, in the development, to real religious documents and comprehensive religious books, the latter then contain the regulations and principles of life of the people in question. They become in this way a mirror for the striving of those groups of people or peoples from which they have emerged and for which they are destined.

In the judgement of the racial characters expressing themselves in the religions, it is not a question of the truth or falsehood of the theoretical ideas regarding the world or life or whatever should be considered in addition to these. The real character, which forms the basis of the innermost of the instincts, is betrayed even in dreaming and phantasizing. It shows itself in the pieces of the décor of the phantasy, not less even where they completely err than in the plans and ideas whose point of departure is a correctly grasped reality. One may not forget that character reveals itself in individual men even in madness. Where, now, all of mankind found itself in a stage of madness, its manifestations are for that reason not less instructive. Indeed, one will never see the popular instincts emerge with such naïveté anywhere as precisely where they

emerge in divine shapes. The god or the gods are the embodied sovereign instincts and thoughts of the people. Their sort of customs¹ is a counterpart to the activity of their people and one so much more instructive the more uninhibited, indeed sovereign, the conduct of the gods is.

What is true in general of the religions of all peoples must apply in a still higher measure to a human race whose entire historical distinction is restricted to its religious destiny. One has attributed to the Jews a sort of religious spirit; one has represented them as the creators of the entire religion of the modern cultured world: in short, one has branded them, from the natural and purely historical standpoint, as the spiritual progenitors of Christianity. One has attributed to them a religious classicism and adapted the intellectual 'division of labour' among the peoples according to it. Just as the Greeks have classically founded philosophy and the Romans law, so the Jews have founded religion and handed it down to us as a legacy for admiration and further use. This flattering role is gladly accepted by all racial Jews, and interpreted by religious Jews who hold fast to their specific Mosaic faith as if Judaism is right even in contrast to Christianity and will outlast the Christian sects - in spite of their expansion - which once branched off from it. The chosen simplicity of this last view is found moreover even in many racial Jews, whether it be now baptized Jews, reform Jews, or otherwise religiously undermined elements of this tribe who have faded to a colourless religious faith. Often it is precisely those who give themselves out to be fully without a faith who have strangely remained faithful to this dogma of the chosen religion which will outlast all religions. The chosen people have also - one sees this in its antiquity as well as in their present-day conduct -, above all things, a chosen religion. The latter is attached so tenaciously, as among no other people. Enlightened Jews indeed often act as if without religion, indeed, when they behave as free-thinking or even socialistic writers. One has only to look closer and one will find that the inherited stubbornness of superstition has its hidden altar even among them. In general, the tenacity of the merely animal life which one ascribes correctly to the Jewish tribe is also true especially of their intellectual products and most of all of their own superstition. The Jew may act ever so enlightened; he is never to be fully trusted on this point. Almost always in ambush lurks a piece of coarser or finer superstition which is held carefully hidden and betrays itself occasionally only for the experienced

¹ i.e. that of the gods.

expert of intellectual affectations. I shall enter more closely into this circumstance in the discussion of the way in which the Jews have "dealt in science". But already even the usual life experience shows how superstition is attached unchangeably to the Jew as to a really cultured man of no other nationality. Following this, the religion must be more characteristic for the Jewish tribe than for every other people. It must therefore uncover to us even the basic traits of the character of the chosen people, and indeed from the beginning.

The morality of the Jews, I mean that which is attached to the race and which, from its commercial activity, has the well-known popular reputation of general harmfulness, is in its core something so naturally grown and in essence so unchangeable that one can point to its spirit even in the oldest religious documents. A part of the bad reputation of the Jewish morality, but in any case only a very small part, may nevertheless be accounted for by the special decay and degeneration to which the people have fallen victim with the downfall of their Palestinian homeland. In dispersion and as guests of other nations, the Jews, and indeed not just since the Christian era, but already centuries earlier, had the most opportunity to lose their original moral characteristics. What they could not do among themselves as a result of the spirit of their religion, that was permitted to them in fullest measure with regard to the remaining mankind. Their broad conscience therefore revealed itself always farthest in its communication with the elements of other races. Naturally, the nations guarded themselves against this. The injured mankind reacted, and, for example, even the medieval pressure, about which the Jews take care to complain in such a one-sided partisan way, was for the most part only a crude sort of emergency popular defence. Amidst those crude conditions there was no choice. The Jews would themselves have enslaved if they had not been enslaved. They would have consumed the nations if the latter had not held their usury within limits. The latter occurred through a sort of enslavement which, in the Middle Ages, was still extremely mild in comparison to those enslavements to which the Jews were accustomed from Egypt and Babylon, therefore from the beginning of their Mosaic history, as it were. It seems indeed that, in this context, the nations only accommodated themselves to the needs of the Jews and applied the yoke to them because this race cannot romp among other peoples without producing the worst injuries. However it may have been, the people of Moses, the people of the Egyptian slavery, have clearly, apart from the endowment of slave morality which they have always conserved, had in the medieval alienation yet another sort of

obsequiousness to cultivate. They have nested in the modern nations, although contemned and suppressed by them, in an obsequious way and thus preserved their old role of exploiting even slavery and of making themselves work finally with the gold and silver of their own masters, just as in Egypt. In this new, partly medieval, partly modern task, the morality of the Jews could certainly not gain. To the original corruption of this morality there came new conditions of slavery, which brought the Jews once again into their old element. Obtaining things by devious means was the form of plunder most suited to their predisposition and circumstances, and in this way arose the rearrangement of Jewish morality with components and principles which poisoned human communication and basically proved themselves to be something hostile to the human race.

One can however quite disregard everything which, in the Jewish ethical documents, date only from the so-called 'bad times'. The Talmud, from which one has drawn so many complaints against the Jewish morality, can be left aside, and yet the character of the Jewish race will not remain in darkness. The Talmud is, so to speak, only a gloss and one must stick to the text. The text in which the religion and morality of the Jews have manifested themselves to a certain degree in a still mostly classical way is only, and reliably, the Old Testament. If the modern cultured nations could consciously break with what has passed over through Christianity to Judaism, both in its allegedly sacred literature and in its profane popular literature, they will find the Jewish essence not just in the Talmud but be sufficiently sincere to study and confess it there where it has immediately penetrated into their own flesh. Moreover, even this way of evaluation is magnanimous. The Talmud is an evidence from the time when the Jewish state already had its history behind it. Although it forms the specific moral and religious book of the Jews, it is still already from the beginning something false, as it were. Corruption was present in a high measure when this gloss of the Jewish religious and legal wisdom came about. The Talmud belongs for the Jews to the Diaspora; but we shall judge this people most thoroughly if we highlight it there where it still had opportunity to show itself relatively in the best way.

2. Clearly it is the lopsided position into which the declining peoples fell in their Jewish judgement which has hindered upto now the character of the Jewish people from being estimated according to the best documentation lying next to us. From a fully free point of view, which in religion and politics is evident only in the case of the natural and the real,

that hindrance is not present. Or, should the German, the Frenchman or any other nationality feel solidarity with the views of those Hebraic documents which have been imported as the appendages of Christianity? We Germans have certainly little reason to artificially mislead the feelings to which our Nordic skies and our Nordic world have stirred us for millennia through the passions of Hebraic Orientalism. The Old Testament is a thoroughly alien book and must become increasingly more alien if we do not wish to alter our character in the long run. In dark times the error could creep in that this piece of Judaism belongs to Christianity. In more enlightened times, on the contrary, the consciousness arises that Christianity was only a reaction against Judaism which, however, was not able to accomplish itself in the Jewish sphere itself. Accordingly, the other peoples will have to see in that chief prophet who arose among the Jews only a spiritual force which sought to redeem the Jews from themselves. But neither have the Jews been redeemed from themselves and their inherited nature nor the world from the nuisance which the mixture with Judaism has imposed on it. On the contrary, Christianity has drawn the Jews into world-history behind itself, as it were, and secured everywhere at least a role of second rank among the modern cultured peoples. This protection which Christianity let the Jews participate at least in an existence of second rank is today silenced by the Jews themselves as a rule. Indeed, Christianity is referred to by the Jews, that is, by the Jewish writers, in a manner which must insult not merely a Christian but, in general, every noble thinking person. The highest martyrdom for mankind, which deserves consideration under all circumstances, has been exposed to the Jewish sneering, and often precisely to the vile Jewish wit, because, in the enlightened public, the better human feelings were too far undermined by the Jewish and half-Jewish press and literature to be able to attain any longer to any powerful counteraction and to ban writings of such a Jewish tone. But this would have been the only means of establishing the damaged human morality in its rights once again, against the Jews. A literature in which this human morality can no longer be publicised emphatically against the universal Jewish wit has abandoned its best aspect. It is lost if it does not recover the power of establishing the better national way of feeling and thought.

Accordingly, one need not hesitate in the least - with regard to the activity of the Jews which is precisely against the purely human and historically better traits of Christianity - to take the Old Testament as the real Jewish original document and as the characterising mark of the Jewish race and its religion. The predilection with which one has ad-

vanced the Talmud exclusively as a self-depiction of the Jewish morality is explained by the constitution of the parties by which the Jews upto now have been most attacked externally and through agitations. Since indeed, here, not just the conservative but, drastically expressed, the reactionary elements of all sorts not merely predominate but were at first almost alone on the spot, there stood against an uninhibited and thorough judgement of the Jews, partly, real religious prejudices, but, chiefly, the political principles of taking into consideration the would-be Christian people and, accordingly, of leaving the Bible out of consideration in the determination of the Jewish character. But thereby one has oneself closed off the most natural, truest, and most popular way to a criticism of the Jews and robbed oneself of the most powerful instrument which alone can last in the long run. How does it help to cite the Talmud? Our modern national society does not, fortunately, read this work; indeed the Jews themselves satisfy themselves with extracts from this colossal collection of glosses filled with trivialities and trifles. On the other hand, from the Bible, and indeed precisely from the biblical history, through the school instruction among us and in the different nations, much is still retained in our memory, so that one needs only to awaken the natural understanding in order to show how one may penetrate with well-known facts into the original character of the Jewish people. The Bible is really not uninteresting if it helps in this way to a better explanation of the Jews. Many a person to whom it is at hand will, through occasional reference to the same, learn and grasp things in this direction which lie far beyond the horizon of the common understanding.

I must however point to yet another step. Those who wish to hold on to the Christian tradition are not in the position to turn against the Jewish people with insistence. Historical Christianity considered in its naturalness and in its true spirit was, as already mentioned, a reaction within the Jewry against the latter themselves. It wanted to soften the "hardheartedness" of the Jews through an extreme paradox, that is, through the commandment of the all-sided love which should rise to the point of love of one's enemy. It has taught the most unconditional love of one's neighbour and meekness as the only way to salvation where the chosen self-interest and cruelty ruled. It has in this way reversed, as it were, the extremes of the Jewish nature and turned against its own characteristics, which form the counterpart of the attributes of a better humanity conceived by it. For this reason however it is also only fully understandable if one considers it as the final self-correction of the Jewry. Other peoples who are not so self-seeking and avaricious as the chosen

one were also not apt, in the same measure, to produce as a contradiction of their defect such things as the Christian doctrines. Where the prophets rail most powerfully against perversity of heart there the situation is indeed also the most depraved. That esteemed prophet and martyr whom the world is familiar with founded his religion of love of one's neighbour and self-sacrifice where the disposition of his people indeed bore in itself the most marked tendency in the world to the opposite. This is the solution to the riddle of how Christianity could arise precisely among the Jewish people. Even for that reason however one has to guard against placing oneself, in the judgement of Judaism, on a dogmatic Christian standpoint, since the latter itself with its theocratic ways of thought is a product of Judaism.

Indeed the opposite way in which one considers Christianity, as it is revealed in the New Testament, as something still essentially interwoven with Jewish traits would have to be preferred. One would then direct against Christianity itself a similar critique as against Judaism. What the new, and indeed the Germanic, peoples have made of Christianity through their own ways of perceiving and feeling is something better than that Jewish coloured original form of the same. The high founder of the new doctrine has been better understood and evaluated only among the modern peoples; by his own people he was only betrayed and crucified. But it is the Jew who clings to Christianity who has to be driven out by the modern peoples, and especially the Germans, with their better mentality. One therefore does well not to limit the critique of Judaism from fear of the components of Christianity. What is Jewish must be treated as such, even where it finds itself concealed in Christianity. In this way do we acquire the freest and most unhindered standpoint that is ever possible. Even the disregarding of all religion - in the sense of the word upto now - is not an abandonment of a spiritual disposition but leads, on the contrary, first to the purest sort of spiritual world-view.

3. The religion of the Jewry has in no way been from the start the familiar sort of faith, but pushed itself by stages from a few uniform sorts of ideas to the final all-entwining idea of unity. If we wished to speak in the uneducated jargon of today, we would have to say that the crass monism which has its most pregnant example in the idea of the Jewish God is only a monstrous product of further reflexion. The sole existence in which the monistic being of this Jewish God indeed consists - the circumstance that the Jewish God tolerates no other beside Himself and wishes to be everything alone - is not an immediate fruit of naïve popular imagination, but a later product of an already metaphysically faded

priestly doctrine. Even present-day Jews who try to act philosophically have a predilection for the word monism in which they intend to rediscover the all-consuming abstraction of their hereditary God and which they present as a world monocracy. Monism reminds them of their home; in the abstract form of Spinozism they can bring it forth among the people under a half-modern mask. The disguised ideas of the badly educated then betray nothing of the real Jewish God of ancient date which they peddle. But basically it is the same theocracy which the Jew propagates even with this, in order to propagate himself. But these are the last messengers of the modern age and of the immediate present. We must reach back to the attainable first beginnings, thus at least to those things documented by the Bible in order to find the imagination of the Jewish race in its naïve and therefore also easily understandable work.

The more or less naïve first documents of the popular mind always offer us divine shapes which are tangible and, so to speak, have hands and feet. The childish life of the gods of Homer is not only more vital but also more understandable than the divine shades and schemes of later philosophers who had lost the faith and cultivated metaphysical mummies in the name of the gods. Thus then, even those old Jewish representations and narrations which let the Lord God appear as a man and, more precisely considered, as a Jew among the Jews are far more interesting than the evanescent abstractions which are present in the writings of a later age. But I come only later to the practical applications to the Jewish character which one can derive from those divine characteristics. For the moment, it is sufficient if the first biblical memories teach us that the Jewish God is the mirror of his people, wishes to fight with Him, make the world subject to him and be glorified by him for that reason. The Jewish God is intolerant like his people. He must have a complete monopoly; along with him no other gods may exist. The Jews are his slaves, but for that reason they should be the masters of the world. One sees that the theocracy is, already in the beginning, complete. The Jewish God is the embodiment of the Jewish endeavours. Already in the original myths monopoly plays a role; a certain kind of apples, along with eternal life, is a reservation and sole enjoyment in Paradise. The Jewish Adam should not wish to equal his God. The oath of the gods therefore is not lacking here too, and in the entire matter is revealed the Jewish imagination which, where it thinks of a sovereign lord, cannot avoid embodying its own human resentment and its own striving for chosen prerogatives even at the head of its original documents and in the most primordial myths.

Terrible views have been given of religion according to which all religion is to be nothing but egoism. The thinkers - like Ludwig Feuerbach - who expressed themselves in this way and then also contradicted themselves again through their own arguments have inferred the whole from the part. Certainly, precisely so much self-interest has embodied itself in the religions as was present among the peoples by whom they were sketched and composed. Apart from self-interest, however, the other instincts of human nature have been active among the different peoples. Only where self-interest was the chosen predominant one did even religion and the idea of God have to correspond to this character-trait. This has now been the case, in the highest measure, among the Jewish tribe, from its origin onwards. The Jewish idea of unity is nothing else but the despotism of self-interest. This lordship, from which slavery is inseparable, knows no free men and therefore even no relative independence of the individual natural realms and natural things. Everything is creature and slave. A people of honest creatures which has never had a fibre of feeling of genuine freedom in itself must reveal this role even in its individual historical destinies. But where it creates a religion this must become a slave religion. If mankind occupies itself in a weak hour with such a legacy it has afterwards much to work at in its laws in order to establish its better feelings of freedom once again. The creation of many gods, of whom one was the most respected and powerful, and over whom in turn stood the all-encompassing Fate - this Greek conception was something which agreed incomparably better with the true nature of things and with freedom than the shrivelling unity of abstract Israelism which twines round all independent life. This abstract divine unity however emerged from the kernel of the desire for monopoly and that aspiration which runs out to the slavery of everything. The Jew knows, in truth, only slaves and chief-slaves. To stand on the highest echelon possible in the ranking of slavery is the sort of ambition which he understands. Through obsequiousness among the powerful to rule from below himself, thus to play the role of chief-slave, corresponds completely to his hereditary disposition. His religion itself is the most valid proof of this sort of thought; for the obsequiousness and the service with regard to the Lord God has only the sense that the latter may for that reason help His slaves to wealth and power over all other peoples of the world.

I recalled the better traits of the Greek religion. But the Germans really need no Hellenism in order to oppose a better predisposition not only to Judaism but also to the Jewish components of Christianity. They have merely to look at themselves, at their own soil and at their Nordic

past, to recover their character even in religion. The Nordic gods and the Nordic god are something that has a natural core and has not been removed from the world by a thousand-year-long diversion. We do not need to reach back to the Indo-Germanic traditions. Here in the North we have the immediate home of our mind in its unity with the surrounding Nature. Here our forbears have conceived the divine shapes in which their true instincts and feelings were embodied. Here an imagination has ruled which was incomparably raised above the Jewish slave-imagination. Here also in the composition of religion a faithful way of thought was embodied, with which manifoldness and freedom as much as connectedness and unity came to expression. It was thus not merely the Greek life which stood higher than the Hebraic limitation to unity, with its mere creatures and its sole sovereign. Even we had, and have, a more naturological disposition, by virtue of which we have been preserved, in our divine formation, from making out of the mechanism of Nature a sovereign, and out of men slaves who are held in His service by their fear as much as by their concern for the payment of their obsequiousness. Originally all mythologies are crude and, accordingly, even ours; but what is important is what is true and faithful to nature in the formation of religion and that is preserved also with the character of the people. The German character has therefore to remember even that which it wove by itself into its religion for thousands of years. Herein its opposition is still more extreme than that of Hellenism against Judaism. The Greek life was in its form tasteful and true; but the character of the people was also strongly interspersed with cunning and deception and indulged itself often in a playful superficiality; it lacked that fidelity and depth which has always, in the most diverse forms, constituted the ideal in the mind of the German race. But why is the German mind at present so unfamiliar to itself? Because it has forgotten itself not merely in religion, but also in the intellectual life and, especially, in literature, and alienated itself with Judaism. But this leads away from religion. We had to recall here only that the German character and understanding have even in their religious conceptions an incomparably better originality than the narrow-minded Jewish mind. The latter is even in religion illogical, inconsistent and incoherent. It does not know true unity, that is, not that which goes through a free manifoldness and independent life. It only consumes; it is the sole being which wishes to exterminate all others into nothing; in short, it is the slave-mentality *par excellence*, in its double form as chosen obsequiousness and as chosenness for the subjugating destruction of all peoples.

4. The last basic statement with which the Jews satisfy themselves in the case of messages of their Lord God consists mostly in the significant words: "For I am thy Lord". The *ultima ratio* for the racial tribe of the Jews is, in general, power and mastery. External power and external success are even today regulative for them. On this point they surpass by far the degradation of other popular masses. To be sure, it is a general characteristic of basely disposed elements of the population to be addicted to the worship of power and to inquire less of the right than of those things which possess might. The Jews are, however, in this cult of mastery and power-holding always the first. It is they who flatter and distinguish themselves through obedience among the power-holders - obviously if they can increase their influence thereby and, as I expressed it earlier, attain the position of a ruling chief-slave. Even their most 'chosen' early histories are not free of this trait. Indeed, Joseph, sold as a slave, learns to bring himself to the helm with the Egyptian king and play a role as the most influential chief-slave. The history of Haman² whom the Jews worked against and by means of the love intrigues of Esther caused to lose not only his governing position but also his life verifies even this character trait. But it is, besides, also characteristic of the original defence to which the nations were forced everywhere where the Jewish tribe dwelt among them. Even the history of one of the greater prophets, namely Daniel, shows how the Jews, already in the most ancient times, were experienced in the ways of creating influence for themselves among the power-holders. From modern life, however, we do not need any special example of their hereditary customs. How often have the Jews, already from the later Middle Ages and indeed already early precisely in bigoted Spain, apart from many other countries indeed, been the financial artists of the power-holders of the government, whether it be directly or

² Haman, according to the Old Testament legend (*Esther*, 3:8), was a high official under King Ahasueras (Xerxes) in Persia in the 5th century B.C. Of the subject Jews Mordecai was an exceptionally arrogant chief who would not bow down to Haman. So the latter planned an extermination of the Jews in Persia. However Ahasueras's new Jewish consort was the Jewess Esther (originally Hadassah), the niece of Mordecai. Using her influence with the king, she succeeded in having the plot uncovered and Haman and his sons sent to the gallows while Mordecai was appointed minister. This victory was henceforth celebrated by the Jews as the Purim festival.

indirectly! Yet this already leads us far into the consequences of the slave-religion and upto the threshold of the most recent facts of the way in which England and France have been able to be ruled for a time by people of the Jewish tribe, like Mr. Disraeli and Gambetta. But this point belongs to the discussion of the role which the Jews play when they think that they detect political capacities among themselves. Their opportunism always remains of the old stamp and therefore we have a right to judge them even today, so to speak, according to their classical document, that is, according to the Old Testament.

There it has been shown now that their political worship of the Lord is of the same mould as their religious worship of the Lord. Both have the same goal; both create for the Jews in all ways power over another people and over other peoples. Even the entire specific Jewish idea of the Messiah has no other meaning. According to it, a person will arise among them who brings about mastery for them over the whole world and raises them externally over all peoples. In themselves and inwardly they indeed already pose as the most excellent people on earth and are the most audacious in the disparagement of other peoples. They have, especially during the last generations, reviled against the Germans and, as much as they could, sought to smother and disparage their national consciousness. They have spoken of the "German Michael"³ and his alleged characteristics in the most uninhibited way; they have almost denied understanding in the German and slandered him as a subordinate race which is only good if it is lucky to be used and pocketed by others. Thereby they have advertised themselves aloud and set themselves up as especially astute, and this Jewish fairy tale has found belief here and there because one was here and there polite enough to let a little cunning nature and slyness be considered as real understanding. If however earlier, in any place, a critical word fell against the racial characteristics of the Jews, the entire press chorus, along with the accompanying literature, has been united, that such desecration of the Jewish existence should be carefully silenced and that everyone who criticizes the Jews should be proceeded against as a new Haman. Even the Jews who are ready at hand with the false accusation of religious prejudice and obscurantism if one does not validate their most audacious falsehoods regarding the advantages of their race - even the Jews who complain of medieval persecution - celebrate festivals in which they still especially glorify their ancient orgies of murder, which they

³ A derisory name for the gullible German.

have committed in the lap of other nations!⁴ That Haman is nothing but the embodiment of the right of all other peoples with regard to the Jewish presumption and to the exploitation of peoples by the Jews. The history - distorted and coloured according to the Jewish mentality - of Haman, who at the court of Susa could not forestall the already all-too-influential intrigues of the same people with an emergency law against the Jews - this history in its true constitution should be even today a remembrance for the peoples of what they may foresee from the Jews where the latter, even only occasionally, attain mastery for a while. At that time, in the entire Persian Empire, around 100,000 persons fallen out of favour with them were admittedly killed by them. These acts of murder which they conducted under the leadership of the Minister blackened by them, or, not to speak in an all-too-modern way, of the chief-slave, Mardachai, were real exterminations of their opponents. The excuse which they produce is that they had been threatened themselves with extermination. But they say the same thing even of the medieval persecutions and, just as they derive from the rabble-rousing propaganda against the Jews the right to a rabble-rousing propaganda by the Jews, so the Jews will never lack pretexts for persecution if only they have the power for it. Already the simple criticism which rejects their bragging is characterized by them as a rabble-rousing propaganda against the Jews. The intrigues and injuries, however, which they exercise with their press against everything independent which, in comparison to the Jewish audacity, does not sacrifice itself - the quiet conspiracies with which they turn against the better racial mind and its representatives - all that is supposed not to be a rabble-rousing propaganda, when it is, however, indeed an organised persecution supported by the corporate bodily network of the religious Jews.

In fact, the organisation of the war of suppression and exploitation which the Jewish elements have conducted for thousands of years against other peoples has already flourished very widely in our present. Its most modern *façon*⁵ cannot deceive. The religious bodies of the Jews are a means of their political and social connection and hold together even the merely racial Jews who stand outside. But this is not the place to go into these political and social privileges into which their religious unions have transformed themselves. While, for example, Protestant peoples have neither a social nor a political association with their Church, but by virtue

⁴ The Purim festivals.

⁵ manner.

of the same are connected exclusively in a religious cult, the Jews use their religious associations in all conditions of life and attach to them even international unions which are mixed into the politics everywhere. In this way has the *Alliance Israélite* in Paris⁶ mixed itself in the great politics and in the Oriental question - all under the provision of religion. The promotion which should allegedly be valid only for the Jewish religion however signifies in general the promotion of the Jewish race from a political and social viewpoint. Whereas, besides, the right of organisation is neglected for the other peoples, the Jews, relying on their religion, use the privilege to support an international union for their total interests against the remaining peoples. Not even the Roman Church, in spite of its strong organisation in clerical party structures, penetrates so boldly, so directly, and so comprehensively, into all political transactions and congresses of the power-holders, in order to obtain an influence with reports, ideas, and private machinations. The Jews are taken up with their religion even when they are not religious. This religion is to them, as from the most primordial times, so also now, the means and the security for their entire existence and expansion. It could therefore not remain a matter of indifference to the remaining peoples, even if it had a better content than is the case. No racial Jew, and even if he gave himself out to be an atheist and materialist, therefore treats the Jewish religion as a matter of indifference. It is to him, rather, a security for that mastery or, rather, for that chief-slavedom for which his people have always striven among all peoples. The chosen self-interest, the elevation above other peoples and the injustice to them - in short, the inhumanity, indeed the hostility against the remaining human race - that is what has its base here and what has been progressing for millennia.

5. The word "tolerance" is always on the lips of the modern Jews, when they speak of themselves and demand completely unhindered play for their type and way. Tolerance, however, is that which suits no people less than precisely the Jews. Their religion is the most exclusive and most intolerant of all; for it basically lets nothing be valid but merely the naked Jewish self-interest and its goals. The half-Jew, Lessing, was somewhat timid with his parable of the three rings, that is, religions. Where the genuine one is he apparently did not answer. The modern Jews tirelessly nurture not merely the Lessingian false- and semi-Enlightenment and a sort of ideas of tolerance, in that they put forth a shield from the

⁶ The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was established in 1860.

so-called German literature; they have also taken up a bolder way. The apparently modest claim of mere toleration is interchanged with an open arrogance which glorifies the Jewish life and the accompanying religion as something beyond which nothing else extends. The Jewish religion is apparently a *non plus ultra*, an original embodiment of all humanity, gentleness and wisdom, and whatever else all these bold falsehoods still maintain among the writers of Jewish advertisements. Christianity is thereby looked down upon; it is an incidental small pick from the tree of Jewish wisdom which bore all these fruits much more perfectly. The love of one's enemy is claimed in a shameless manner by the Jews as the property of their Talmud. Indeed, there's much more! They maintain impertinently that this is not found in some editions of the New Testament. According to this modest Jewish opinion, the New Testament would be a plagiarism of the Talmud, whereas in fact the Talmud, which was compiled two centuries after Christ from all possible traditions, presents itself as a confused mixture of influences of all literatures. About six centuries before and until two centuries after Christ, the Jewish scholars worked to form a traditional sophistry or rather quibbling which, under a mixture of diverse Asiaticism and even of scraps from the Greek doctrine, appropriated everything and dealt with the sense of the writings of the Old Testament arbitrarily, often to the point of distortion and reversal. A massive compilation of this sophistry of a great number of scholars is now the Talmud. Naturally, there was presented in its edition - which, as mentioned, took place two centuries after Christ - not only the entire classical antiquity of the Greeks and Romans, but also directly among the Jews everything new which had been represented in Christ's attempt at reform. It looks therefore really strange when the Jews write in all possible science and wisdom into their Talmud whereas the Talmud is in fact, in the matters in question, only a distorting mirror of all sorts of things which came to the ear of the Jewish scholars from other peoples and better elements of wisdom.

The scholars or, not to forget the necessary addition, the scholars and Pharisees were really those professional scholars and legal workers with whom Christ had to act as with the class most hostile to him. They stood far lower than the Sophists in Athens who were responsible for the fate of Socrates. Just as today, in the meanwhile, writers are not lacking who attempt to whitewash the Sophists and take sides against Socrates, the Jewish audacity has hesitated far less to bring to the market a reversal of the truth about Christ's fate. Right in the face of all documentation and history it is indeed maintained by the Jewish writers that the Jews bore

no blame in the judgement and death of Christ. The Jewish penal law and the penal court are turned by the Jewish hacks, in spite of the most tangible facts, into a paragon of mildness and humanity and then it is boldly concluded that which the Jews call the trial of Christ was not accomplished according to the Jewish procedure - precisely as if one did not know that Christ was judged by the high court of scholars for blasphemy, and that it was the latter with its Jewish people which forced the Roman governor to free a common criminal rather than the Christ considered by him to be innocent, on the Passover Feast, according to the custom of the Jews. Hobbes has predicted that there would be people who denied the axioms of Euclid if that brought with it their own advantage. The Jewish interest is capable of still more; its boldness does not at all turn to the logical axioms and it contests, where it suits it, the fact that white is white and black. The Jews have crucified their Jesus - this truth is still today uncomfortable to the Jews. The remembrance of this piece of scholarly or, if one please, learned, corruption in Jerusalem is however not softened by the fact that the present-day scholars of the Jews add to this act a second intellectual one in that they attempt to force down the significance of the personality of Christ deeper under the meagre compiled wisdom of their Talmud. This is simply a modern piece of toleration of the Jewish sort. Their own great martyr who wished to redeem the Jews from themselves and from their bad characteristics is still continuously crucified on the cross in their mind, and in places it is only the lack of a bit of Jewish rule which prevents from becoming public the currently restrained Jewish opinion that that crucifixion occurred to him rightly.

The Jews have visibly been, at all times, the most intolerant racial tribe on earth and are such even today, even where they cover themselves ever so much with a whitewash signifying the opposite. They are such not only in their religion but in all contexts. When they speak of tolerance, they wish to see basically only themselves tolerated along with their shamelessness. Such a tolerance however signifies essentially their own mastery and to this belongs once again suppression and hostility against all others. For the one who knows the Jewish race and its history more closely there is perhaps hardly a more gaping contradiction than a Jew who has universal tolerance on his lips. The tolerance demanded by him is finally nothing but freedom for the intolerance of the Jewish race. That for which there should be no tolerance - already Rousseau thought so - that is even intolerance. To tolerate that one spread intolerance means to give up the principle of humane toleration itself. Not merely every religion but also every race which claims toleration must be disposed in

accordance with this. It cannot have hostility and war against others as a principle and basic instinct. The content of a religion or the laws of a racial tribe must be compatible with universal humanity and reciprocity, if it wishes to be tolerated among the remaining peoples. The small group of people in the corner of the world called Palestine however had, from the beginning, instincts and laws which announced basic disregard and hostility against the rest of the human race. One has brought forth places from the Talmud in order to demonstrate tangibly that the Jews are authorised by their religion to betray and harm the non-Jews. But we do not need the Talmud at all to get this insight. If it did not exist at all, the Jewish ethics would not be better for it and would not be less documented. What we observe here in the actual communication are really not other characteristics than those which were embodied already even in the Mosaic times. The Old Testament is a sufficient mirror of the Jewish nature. One must only watch objectively and one will once again recognize the little chosen people of today in their involuntary self-characterisation of that time. How often is that not expressly allowed to the Jews against foreigners which is forbidden to be practiced among themselves! Even the Old Testament recommendation of a sort of love of one's neighbour is expressly limited to the Jews among Jews. Even today there is no neighbour for the Jew but the Jew. However much the Jews cheat and betray one another, against the non-Jews at least they are united in hostility. Even those racial Jews who sell themselves to businesses against their own race, do not set aside thereby their hereditary species. They manage besides, through the entire manner in which they make their business, to glorify Judaism, for whose fight they have put themselves in service. The Jew never stops being a Jew even if he goes over to the opposite party in order to conduct anti-Jewish business on that side. But the wit of Jewish writers may deceive us least about their own race. In general, the Jews wish to often give themselves before non-Jews the appearance of lack of prejudice in that they set forth against Jews and Jewish characteristics. They are not seldom the first to emphasize to a Jew his Jewishness, whereas they deny or deplore the same in themselves. Such manners are calculated for the non-Jews or, where it is a question of the public, a public in which the Jews form a small fraction. Even these same Jews will however, where they are among themselves or where a public of their people is decisive, strike their breasts and call out how proud they are of it. Behind that deliberate appearance of an exemption from Jewishness there always lurks therefore the old hostility and intolerance. Where the racial Jew himself becomes a rabble-rouser against

the Jews, as the businesses can indeed cause to occur, there he just makes occasional use of the hereditary way of thought and intolerance in the opposite direction. But he is to be trusted so much the less; for the Jew does not deny himself even where he plays the anti-Semite. Intolerant self-interest is his life, wherever and however he may announce it.

6. As in everything which is recognized in its naturalness and reality, so also in the revelations of the Jewish nature, in spite of all incoherence and sharpness, there is something like a system - at least a system in the sense in which it cannot be denied even in the deformed. We have seen that the chosen self-interest is the leading principle. From it are explained religious and moral matters in full unity. A morality of self-interest is indeed really the opposite of morality, but only when we understand morality in the better sense and in a way in which it has no home among the Jews. Where there are found among the ancient writers occasional judgements about the Jews, there they are full of contempt against this racial tribe and grope for the strongest expressions to characterize their procedures and customs as depraved. At the top stands a Roman philosopher from the time of the early Caesars, Seneca, who, in a place obtained by us *verbatim* from Augustine, calls the Jews a despicable people (*scleratissima gens*). If one translates the Latin expression which Seneca has used in a work on superstition even quite literally, that is, with "the most criminal people", the embellishing epithet does not become less significant. Both the original history of the Jews and that immediately before the Christian calendar are full of depravity and blood. The cruelty in their original history is all too well known; not merely women and children but also the cattle of the enemies were murdered, in order to extirpate everything, and only gold and silver found mercy. In the century before the Christian calendar, one needs however only to cast a glimpse at the domestic history of the Jewish rulers in order to obtain enough of the way in which the Jews dwelt among themselves, and to turn away in disgust from such an arena of the cruellest murder, basest betrayal, and most refined thirst for revenge. Even the common, base derision of the Jews against Christ during his crucifixion contrasted very powerfully with the conduct of the Athenians in the enforcement of the judgement against Socrates!

The most famous Roman historian, Tacitus, who already planned the downfall of the Jewish state, is openly concerned, in his characterisation of the Jewish nature and of the Jewish customs, to write without resentment or propensity (*sine ira et studio*). But even he cannot avoid carving in his lapidary style some sentences on world-history which

demonstrate classically what a monument the Jews set for themselves in the thoughts of the peoples of the Roman Empire. The Jews were at that time everywhere; they were already for a long time at Rome; one knew them not merely from the wars which one had conducted in Palestine. Now, the same Tacitus who described the Germans with such pleasure as the model of good customs and held them to his Romans as an ideal - even this Tacitus, who knew to find the good among foreign nations and more than merely recognized it, sees himself forced in the middle of a cool and dispassionate description of Jewish matters to draw strong strokes to correspond to the facts found by him. In the *Histories* (Bk.V, Chap.5) it runs: "The ethos of the Jews is absurd and sordid (*Judaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque*)". Nearby stands equally: "The tribe is one extremely inclined to pleasure (*projectissima ad libidinem gens*)". To lecherousness however corresponds, according to an often ascertained correlation, also cruelty, which belongs in the case of the chosen people similarly to the chosen characteristics. Both characteristics are explained very well even inwardly by the essential core, that is, by an extraordinary development of self-interest of the lowest sort. Here too then belongs even the most significant statement of Tacitus that the Jews "entertain a hostile hatred against all others (*adversus omnes alios hostile odium*)". Tacitus presents this, indeed, in connection with the circumstance that they are ready with clemency among themselves, with a view to increasing their power. In fact, their interests and dispositions had to be encouraged by a way of thought which considered the other peoples among whom the Jews lived basically as enemies to be exploited. In this way, the Jews conducted, in the midst of human society and scattered everywhere in it, a quiet war of exploitation against the welfare of the human race. They were always hostile to all better characteristics and to all that did not suit their lower type.⁷

In view of these basic traits of the Jewish character standing firm for thousands of years it is only a trifle if one objects in the Jews today a fear of every work which really produces something and finds represented among them almost only such activities as depend on commercial

⁷ This is confirmed by the earliest evidences of the expulsion of Abraham and his tribe from Chaldea on account of their inability to follow the lofty astronomically oriented natural religion of the Chaldeans (see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, I:157, and Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, 184; also *De mutatione nominum*, 72-76).

inclination and bring gain through social taxation of one's neighbour. I need not go more closely into the popular truth that the Jews are stuck everywhere in trade and reveal everywhere the most striking tendency to trade, in the lower meaning of the word. This fact stands too firmly to require yet another explanation; but its basis and its age may not be so well known. When the Jews formed a state, they could not avoid conducting agriculture. But their hereditary disposition, always and during their entire history before the Christian calendar, brought them to dwell among other peoples and to practice their form of trading activity or, better expressed, trading nomadic life. In this way they grazed on foreign peoples as pastures as it were, through their trade, in order to rake in a good share of trade profits and fraudulent gains. Among themselves and by themselves they could not naturally carry out such businesses. Their own law directed them to other men as to those with regard to whom that is allowed which is not proper at home. A society united in self-interest against others must also turn outwards and seek material there for its greed. The Roman conquered the world; but the Jew sought to bring its wealth to himself through devious means. From this is explained the predilection for all commercial activities in which, not so much work, but astute acquisition and sly cheating have a scope. It is not any external hindrance which holds back the Jews continually from agriculture and handicraft. They have always demonstrated and will always demonstrate their innermost disposition, which is once again related to the core of their being, the chosen self-interest, in sorts of occupation in which acquisitive instinct, rather more than conscience, is a profitable endowment. It is therefore fully impossible to reckon that the Jews could be forced to participate in the creative work of the people. They will haggle and trade - as they have hitherto traded - so long as there remains present in mankind any opportunity for it. One may therefore give up the notion of changing them. What has been their well-established character for millennia will not at all be transformed into its opposite by a social reform, let alone by merely moral means.

How trading and marketing belongs to the original characteristics of the Jews is demonstrated already by a story in the 18th chapter of the first book of Moses, which indeed would make a comic impression if, for the rest, the Jewish character were not such a sad fact of humanity. That story is indeed a contract which Abraham himself concludes with the Lord God. The latter wishes to punish and destroy the city of Sodom on account of its heinous sinfulness. Abraham makes objections to Him and thinks that the Lord would be a better judge if He came across 50 just

people in the city for whose sake He would preserve the city, so that innocent people would not have to suffer. After Abraham, in the interest of these supposed 50 just people, has the approval of the Lord, he comes forth with a smaller offer. He has miscalculated; the Lord would perhaps find only 45 just people. Correctly the Lord too lets the 5 be taken off; but Abraham has now one finger, and now follow the others, and finally the entire hand is claimed. The next price of preservation is 40 just people, therefore again 5 less. Then the trade goes down in levels from 30 to 20 upto 10, and the Lord settles with Abraham after He has agreed with him that the probable finding of 10 just people should suffice to preserve the city. If the patriarch did not provoke any displeasure in his own God with a regular knocking down of price from 50 to 10, but indeed succeeded with Him, this proves the views which the Jewish God entertains with regard to such tendencies. These businesses are therefore self-explanatory; they are indeed sanctified. The dealing from price to price is still something relatively innocent; it proves only the haggling mentality. But the Jews have in their original documents sanctified quite other things, namely even, among others, refined stealing. Or what else is it when, before the exodus from Egypt, the Jewish women borrow from their neighbours gold and silver vessels, as well as clothes, in order to purloin them later? This borrowing and purloining is, as one can read in the 3rd, 11th, and 12th chapter of the second book of Moses, an express prescription of the Lord God which was delivered to the Jews by Moses. They should not move empty-handed, and, at the same time, the way is also shown to them by their God how they should succeed in possessing the precious objects of the Egyptians in order to run away with the objects borrowed with deception. This acquisition of the gold, silver, and clothes of the Egyptians is typical; it betrays the Jewish mentality in its most naïve form. One will never forget it throughout world-history; for, one is constantly reminded anew of this sanctified art of acquisition. The chosen and sanctified self-interest which forms the central theme in everything which emerges from the Jews has here its original form. It is the key to Jewish life, insofar as morality and the accompanying religious way of observation come into question. But how it stands with the disposition for, or rather against, science and art, that is an investigation which is also, though only indirectly, linked with the characteristics determined upto now, and therefore demands a special point of departure. The general character of the Jew, as we have got to know him upto now, forces itself on the non-Jewish peoples through the immediate feeling and through the perceptions lying quite close. Those characteristics of the

Jew, however, which can be expressed only in the discussion of education or bad training escape the public more easily and accordingly demand a special characterisation.

Chapter III

The question regarding their capacity for science, literature and art

1. For the educated person the Jewish question exists in a more extensive sense than for the popular masses. The latter are mostly materially confronted with usury and commercial exploitation; but their mind is less affected. Their instincts are still half organic and misled by no higher education. Moreover, the popular masses have less opportunity to deteriorate through a refined literature. It is therefore only an exception if - as by means of the so-called Judaized Social Democracy in Germany, and now even in France, led by Jews - the specific Jewish mentality and the manners of the Jews obtain also a literary channel to individual groups of the people. It is different, on the contrary, with the higher educated strata, whose healthy sense is often decayed by the Jewishness of the press and literature without becoming aware of it. The educated therefore have a double reason to be on guard against the Jewish instincts. First, they are exposed like the popular masses to the commercial disadvantaging and indeed to that of the most select sort, and second, they are also exposed to the bad literary influences and, in general, to the falsification of mentality. Where now the corruption has penetrated without this, the Jews have the best chances to nest, according to the principle which we have explained in the first chapter. The educated people let themselves rather be taken in by appeals like those to their religious impartiality and to universally equal mankind. They are moreover, in the present transitional epoch, often devoid of all positive views and so robbed by undermining, indeed cynical, ideas of all strength of conviction and intellectual power of resistance that they hardly feel any longer the moral decomposition and the intellectual disfigurement which expands itself in the Judaized

literature, and they take it for something granted. Here the most important is not merely a healthy moral, but also an aesthetic counter-effect which shows the door to the ugly and disharmonious. But before we go into the distortions of the fine literature, we must drop our anchors still deeper and consider actual science itself with regard to how the Jews conduct themselves with respect to it and have activated even in it the well known shady dispositions.

If one surveys the history of the Jewish tribe as a whole, one finds immediately how it has not managed a fibre of real science in its national existence. What have the little group of people in Palestine done during the millennia upto the Christian calendar and upto its downfall? It has served itself, or - which is the same thing in their case - the God their Lord, and branched off into subsidiaries which had to nourish themselves on the sap of the soil of other peoples; but it has neither itself attained any real science nor has it ever shown the spirit of cultivating the science produced elsewhere. Is there even a single scientific truth which might have had its homeland among the Jewish people? No mathematics, no natural science, no logic, no scientific understanding for universal human forms of political life, indeed in general no philosophy! Only a cult of theocracy and of the most self-seeking of all religions! Only a narrowing down to their own narrow-minded life! Only a single object of interest, namely the Jewish tribe itself, which is reflected in its God and seeks its advantage in order to expand its tenacious life everywhere! One does not need to be an Orientalist, like the well-known Renan - who is really not hostile to the Jews, learned in this field and at the same time writing in a popular manner on religious historical questions - to perceive the entire impotence of the Jewish race for science. The mentioned scholar however says already of all Semites in general: "In contrast to the Aryan nations every scientific and philosophical originality is lacking".⁸ Among the Semites however the Jews are the most limited. They have not been able to do anything but think of themselves according to the image of the relation of lord and slave which directed their own life, thus, to devise a Lord God. They have, as I already termed it in my *Course of Philosophy* (1875),⁹ founded the slave-form of religion. This is their entire, really not enviable accomplishment. From which seed it stems has been dis-

⁸ Ernst Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1878, Bk.I, Ch.I.

⁹ *Kursus der Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1875, p.391.

cussed in the previous chapter. The religion of self-interest and the rigid authoritarian lack of freedom are however unfavorable to nothing so much as to science; they are, on the contrary, hostile to it. They tolerate the truth neither in Nature nor in the realm of men. They agree with no impartial conception of things and no harmonious formation of the better humanity. Humanity in the deeper sense of the word is alien to them, and this is also the root of science. How differently the Greeks and, to mention the most immediate example from the modern age, the different peoples of Germanic origin and mixture! Here world-history reveals different impulses and, accordingly, also different products. Here there was, and is, in effect a striving of a higher sort. Here there are ideals. Here there is pure and immediate joy in research and knowledge. Here the human spirit strives to explore Nature and itself; not, however, as the Jewish mind, to accommodate itself to both through the fact that it lets it play a slave-role before God the Lord and be consumed in a self-seeking religion.

When the Jews formed a state, they brought forth a scholarship of theocracy but no science. They have also taken up as good as nothing from foreign science. The Talmud, with its weak attempts revealed therein to adopt foreign wisdom, is a proof also of this powerlessness. The Jews therefore lack not only the power of creating, but also the capacity of entering into the scientific creations of other peoples with receptivity. Where, during the diaspora among other peoples, they were stirred to the acceptance of another spirit and real science, this acceptance never took place properly. It has been said that they have had, in the modern, really scientific, centuries, no sufficient opportunity to demonstrate their aptitude. This defence from the side of the Jews and Jewish friends however leads to the opposite, when one examines the facts. Have the Jews not in the most diverse centuries been doctors in such a considerable number, and have they not had here sufficient opportunity to expand the natural sciences, if their capacities had just been adequate? Where, however, is - to recall only the development of science since Copernicus, Kepler, Galilei, Huyghens, etc. - the Jew, to whom, in these significant centuries too, even a single natural scientific discovery is due? For real and serious science for its own sake the Jews even today have no sense. If they deal externally with science, they treat as well as they can the ideas of others, and their entire impulse in science has, where not immediately a commercial goal, still always a commercial character. Just as they become doctors and advocates, so they become also teachers and professors of mathematics and of other branches of learning in which a stock of learnable

knowledge from other peoples and real genius is accumulated. The Jews themselves never attain to genius, but at the most, and exceptionally, just to a talent, which is capable of falsely giving the touch of independent creation to their trade with foreign ideas. Yet we do not wish to measure the Jews first by that in which they have been found most inadequate. We do not wish to inquire directly about true science, but first about that hybrid thing which still stands with one foot in religion and with the other gives the appearance of having a scientific pedestal - I mean that intermediate form which is called philosophy.

2. The only Jewish personality who enjoys a reputation in the history of philosophy and seems to earn it to some degree through some characteristics of it is the Spinoza who was excommunicated by the Jews. I myself have shown him and his writings in the most favorable light possible in my *Critical history of Philosophy* (4. ed. 1894),¹⁰ in that I emphasised his mentality. And everybody will, at all times, have to honour his effort to lay aside the hereditary tendency to acquisitiveness and to pleasure, and still more evaluate the openness with which he confesses to not having been able to put aside all greed. He thus became a wise man such as even Judaism can bring forth in the most favorable case. His real wisdom however did not consist in what he undertook according to Judaism, but in what he did in spite of the same and against the hereditary tendencies. He became a sort of hermit and encouraged to a certain degree free-thinkers through the independence with which he preserved his philosophical speculations from the power of the Synagogue and the Church through the sacrifice of external life enjoyment. But this should not deceive us on the basic inner character of his writings which, taken strictly, is not far from the chief object of the Jewish mind. What one calls the philosophy of Spinoza is basically only religion and indeed of a specially Jewish sort. The one chief work which he himself published in his lifetime is entitled *Theological-political tractate* and mirrors in its content the traits of the Jewish theocracy. The second main work however, which he did not publish himself for the sake of peace, but left unpublished and called *Ethics*, shows still more how, to the Jew, the religion was everything and how what he considered as ethics was only a way of finding a sort of peace of mind with his own self in the all-absorbing and consuming idea of God. The circumstance that Spinoza borrowed from the preceding philosophers technical expressions like the

¹⁰ *Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie* (first ed. Berlin, 1869).

term substance, which in him represents the hereditary Lord God, cannot deceive us on the kernel of his way of observation. Even when he says occasionally: God or Nature, this does not make his way of thought more nobly human. He thinks even of Nature in a Jewish light; he lets it and man fully pass into the sole substance, that is, into that monocratic something which is supposed to be a thinking and a corporeally extended thing at the same time everywhere in all things. If anything, the ideas of Spinoza on the world and existence have shown how tenaciously the hereditary religious way of observation is rooted in the Jew. Even where Spinoza is concerned to project a sort of pantheism according to the model of far more powerful and noble intellectual natures of other races, like that of Giordano Bruno, it is only the unity of Jehovah, which seeks to make itself master of everything and to impress on all its stamp of subjection.

I cannot go here into the actual moral rocks on which Spinoza's speculative career collided, because the compass of Jewish ethics directed badly here. I must point to my cited argumentative presentation and can here only recall, as an instance, how compassion is treated with aversion by Spinoza. The impulse to compassion should apparently be destroyed as a feeling and replaced by the understanding. This monstrosity smacks of that hard-heartedness against which Christ already combated as against a basic characteristic of the Jews. The philosopher has greatly fallen behind the religious founder here although both arose from the same racial tribe and had to battle the same characteristics. Spinoza's ethics has, insofar as it considers only one's own isolated satisfaction, not merely coarse egoistic traits, but also an egoistic total character even if one more finely formed. It does not understand anything of reciprocity in the relation of man to man and of a consideration for others. The isolated self is sufficient for it, and it finds no trace of a noble compassion of man for man or of unselfish interests which may have their centre of gravity in the existence of another person. The passions, the theory of which is the main matter in Spinoza, are denied only egotistically, that is, insofar as they are uncomfortable and happen to be burdensome to one's own self. He wishes to see the desires given up insofar as is conducive to health. But he does not take consideration of others thereby. Like his legal conception, so also his conception of the world has in itself the trait of a mere cult of power. To the latter corresponds also Spinoza's lack of ideals. He sees in all things and forms only effective causality and power, but no nobler type according to which they are formed. Even perfection and joy are in him only expressions for a greater mass of reality and power as well as for the raising of the feeling of power. Who may not

recognize here, if only he has correctly studied the race, the mirror-image of the original Jewish power-worship and covetousness for power always emerging in new forms! But to the crowning of the whole belongs still the reverse concept which Spinoza entertains of the moral good. 'We wish', he maintains, 'for something not because it is good but we call it good because we wish for it'. In this way the good in itself ceases and the will is the measure for everything. In fact, the Jews act according to this even if they have not studied Spinoza. What suits them and what they wish for, that is for them good; what does not suit them and what they do not wish for, that they give out to be bad. The Jewish standard is today, in an unadorned way, the criterion of the Jews for the good and the bad, and the philosopher in the 17th century has produced the mentioned universal principle which corresponds to this conduct from the innermost self-seeking nature of his race, which has more instinct and covetousness than conscience.

If one speaks of Spinoza as a Jew, one must first indicate the merging of his philosophy into the hereditary religion and its appropriate type of ethics. Here, in this chapter, however, our main question is regarding actual science, therefore regarding that which Spinoza does not have. In fact, it is characteristic how he makes unsuccessful efforts in this direction. He would like to have purely scientific logicity, and he equips himself with mathematics, whose old sharp framework is apparently to represent to him the position of real logic. This unsightly marionette-like manner of presentation and these abrupt axioms of a mathematical sort, in an unoriginal form and with an unsuitable material, are perfect proofs of the lack not merely of the deeper logical capacities, but also of the aesthetic sense. They make the writing on ethics even externally unenjoyable. But enough of that; the special argument of these Spinozistic misconceptions and of the accompanying reasons does not belong here. More important here is a more tangible fact. Whereas indeed other philosophers like Descartes had their own positive accomplishments to point to in actual science, that is, in mathematics, Spinoza is, in this context, completely unfruitful. Even here, he corresponds to his tribe, to which actual science remained not merely alien and a matter of indifference, but is indeed contrary to its innermost feelings. The Jew does not wish even today to know anything of actual philosophy at all. He is satisfied with his religion even when he believes that he thinks in an enlightened and free manner. In him philosophical impulses, such as worked powerfully from Bruno and Descartes, not to mention Hobbes, from whose writings Spinoza derived some stimulation from his extremely inadequate ideas of

politics and brutal power, clashed with religion. That unequal encounter however produced even a bastard system. If a piece of genuine principledness, or at least of an attempt towards it, were not reconciled to the form of the philosopher, the mere theory would only provoke displeasure as a semi-scholastic and ungainly misformation. In this respect however, Spinoza, through his simple and independent life and through his striving - even if unsuccessful - for a self-sufficient thought, in spite of the bad Jewish traits of his ethics and legal conception, still has claim to being valid to a certain degree as one of the moral philosophers. Might was right to him, contracts between peoples binding only so long as they were useful - but his own conduct was in certain directions better formed than such false and bad principles. He at least combated the Hebrew who was concealed in him. He attempted to oust him just as he himself was ousted by his racial comrades. He at least made an effort to assume some of the legacy of Giordano Bruno, even if this took place only very imperfectly. The best that he achieved he attained not because, but in spite of, the fact that he was a Jew. It appears almost melancholic when one compares his effort and life of withdrawal to that lack of science captivated within the realm of religion to which he fell victim.

The prejudice for Spinoza is one of the peculiarities to which the last couple of generations have fallen precisely in Germany in the realm of university philosophy. The studying youth are liberated with so much more difficulty from this inoculated prejudice in that Jewish advertisement is now always at hand to utilize with customary audacity the once excommunicated racial comrade as an encouragement of the fame and glory of the chosen people. For a century, the emergence of the Jews, as well as its precisely not modest propaganda for everything which belongs to their race, has had the greatest share in the fact that Spinoza has come more to the foreground. The lack of judgement among philosophising professors like Schelling and Hegel had contributed its share to it. However much it may serve Spinoza that one doubly credits him with the mentioned piece of morality which he represented and that one sets him correspondingly among the great minds of the history of philosophy, still the professorial scholastic glosses have, on the contrary, considered only his religious and scholastic sides. Even the present-day Jews look for in him once again only their religion, which however has a philosophical venter. After everything that the Jews and the German universities have brought into circulation on Spinoza, it must have been impossible, in the last centuries, for anyone who had not yet fully emancipated himself from the influence of both elements to hit on the right measure for the histori-

cal evaluation of the Jewish philosopher. The difficulty, however, is fully resolved by the fact that Spinoza's abandonment of his race is estimated only so much more highly, while, on the contrary, the Jews quite give up wanting to discover in him a philosophy rising above his religion. One has even to constantly remind oneself that he comes up with no actual knowledge in his writings, indeed, on the contrary, has set down proof that he was not capable at all of making use of the existing exact science for philosophy. It would be no honour for the peoples, and especially for the Germans, if, instead of the justice which must be granted for his good aspect and for his failure, the present-day Jewish standard with its 'chosen', audacious, vaingloriousness remained decisive. Spinoza was too good for the Jews and is still. They wish to exploit the excommunication posthumously; we however shall recognize in him that the Jews, both religiously and morally, are not to be saved from themselves and their characteristics.

3. Thus it has been shown in the best which the Jews have to point to in the modern centuries, that is, in the Spinoza at first excommunicated and thrust out by them but now chosen by them as a shield and used in this way later, of what a disposition the Jew is capable of being in the most favorable of cases. Spinoza has raised himself here and there above his people and revealed some traits of philosophical repose. He has, however, in the main, remained so deep in the religious and unscientific type and manner of thought and feeling that he has recently exercised the theologians far more than real philosophers. This has revealed itself clearly in the recent centenary festival (1877). In the two centuries which had passed since his death, Protestant theology professors, and the professors of philosophy who are to be considered similar to them, of the German universities, had made in the so-called Liberalism precisely enough progress to become susceptible to the Jewish element and to pick something up which was already a backwardness in the 17th century. To cultivate Spinoza - that was what these people wished to see considered as free thought today. It is nothing more, even if it went beyond mere coquetry. The good in Spinoza is not suitable for such people. There remains therefore only the agreement in the Jewish chorus. This was the fashion in the last generations; but that decline of the racial consciousness and especially of the German national sentiment has already, even if at first in the opposite direction, given place to some pride. In things which concern the sensibilities and feelings, the peoples have a reason to hold fast to their better way of thought and cast of mind. Precisely that which is not actual science but merely literature receives its stamp most strongly

from the racial nature. The greatest part of philosophy belongs here; for, if it wishes to be genuine, it has to bring to expression the human in its most noble form. Such a definite form is however no universally human skeleton in which every minimum of humanity, as close to the ape as it may stand, would be sufficient. Not even the zoologist can maintain his method in this way. In general, to be a man is extremely little and borders on the way of existence of animals. It is a question therefore, of the human species, of the race, nationality, indeed finally of individuality. This is revealed also in literature; for, the better humanity is embodied in it only by virtue of the national and individual genius. The type of a literary creation can give evidence of a universal human content, but always only in specific, indeed individual, definiteness. If the latter is not the case, there is present no true production but only a flat and shallow sorry patchwork of faded and lifeless pattern.

If one pondered the facts of the matter indicated, one would gauge what it means that in the 19th century the Jewish element has played at German literature. One needs only to name names like Heine and Börne and one has got together the relatively best or, more carefully expressed, the least bad which upto now has stood in the foreground in German literature in the 19th century and exercised the most influence on the elements wishing to be independent. Both writers were at first also religious Jews; both let themselves be baptized, Börne quite secretly, and among both the goal of this religious conversion is well known. It was aimed at promotion; Heine thought of attaining in this way a professorship; both however had miscalculated and taken trouble in vain. Such incidents may be considered nevertheless as incidental; but they throw a so much more dazzling light on the tenacity with which the hereditary Jewish nature of both writers was adhered to and indeed, towards the end of their literary career, was even religiously emphasized. Börne finally religionised very strongly, and the old God of his tribe was expressly brought out once again by Heine. Heine has, not in jest, but with as much seriousness as ever stood at his disposal to his unrestrained nature in general, finally in his writings ('Afterword to Romancero', 'Confessions') expressed that he needs a God who can help; the Bible is the best book to which he has returned after he felt that there was nothing in Hellenism and philosophy. That was the infirmity of Heine, physically and intellectually at the same time. By the Bible he meant the Old Testament, by the helping God that of his forefathers. Heine had not indeed become orthodox or synagogue-going; but the Jew awoke in his old age as completely as it is indeed possible in an educated person. Those aspects of the better

elements which the writer and poet had thought and felt himself into fell away now like a mere cloak.

Heine is, according to talent, more significant than Börne. The latter, however, is only half-established seriousness, whereas the former cannot avoid mixing in his abrupt clowning into everything. Even in the little lyricism which he has at his disposal, he turns the mood round in the same breath like a somersaulter. From the elevated to the lowest - that is his accustomed manner, of limping on the ladder of feeling or deliberately performing a buffoon's gestures. He is perhaps most at home in the ordinary and the dirtied. Everything else is to him a foreign world in which he raises himself only with effort. Where he wishes to be clever, he does not hold out and falls almost involuntarily into the comical, and indeed mostly into the most common sort of the same. Excepting hardly a couple of poems, there is nothing in his *Book of Songs*,¹¹ thus in the entire foundation of his Jewish advertised poetic vocation, which appeared without unpleasant mixture or should not be considered as the travesty of lyricism. Lyricism is however, in turn, the only thing which one can in any case still ask for with respect to the poetry of the Jewish race. Psalmody and some lyrical prophecy is found indeed even in the *Book of Books*; but dramas and real epics the Jew does not have at all. How also should the free heroic forms have arisen among the slaves of the Lord? But of that only by the way. Heine has formed something out of Romanticism and has moreover plagiarized great models like the British poet Byron down to his own level. Indeed, where he predominantly revealed himself as a prose writer, as in the 'Travel images'¹² he provided a low incidental piece to that high flight which Byron's poetry in 'Harold' had taken in connection with Nature- and human-images. Even the so-called world-sorrow of Heine is a copy. The original and noble traits of pessimistic mood are to be sought in the British genius next to the nobler form of which, even in humour and jest, the joking figure of the Jewish writer assumes a form of ordinary composition. One does not need to bring in precisely the last so-called poems and writings of Heine, say the 'Romancero' and later works, in order to reveal the ugliness and repulsively unclean mixture of the elements of his imagination gathered together everywhere. Already his earlier and better work, already his 'Travel images' and his 'Book of Songs', contain enough of

¹¹ *Buch der Lieder*, Hamburg, 1827.

¹² 'Reisebilder'.

that. His prose is superficially half-fluent; but nevertheless it is, in thought and form, jerky and broken. The abrupt nature in the presentation and that incoherence in style and composition which is peculiar to all Jewish writers, and is indeed evidenced already in the Old Testament presentations too, - this distraction often going to the point of a fragmentary manner is not lacking in Heine also. Precisely because he has moreover concerned himself in prose and poetry with a natural and popular German with an appearance of success, the traits of this Jewish unchangeable abruptness are so much more significant.

He had, as he himself expresses it, felt "the finest feelings", namely those which he had felt Romantically. In addition, he had admittedly provided himself at first with a bad philosophaster, namely the Hegelian, and even here revealed the lack of independence and shortsightedness peculiar to the Jewish race which always falls victim to the immediate thing which has precisely popularity and some superficial ephemeral success. This limited horizon of the perpetual cult of petty authority is so properly a Jewish character which betrays really no higher understanding, but thinks itself to be wonderfully clever whereas, however, it only runs after that which is indeed commercially in the foreground at the moment. In this way all such glorified splendour disappears along with the market economy and Heine has finally made everything that he has let himself into in this way go admittedly bankrupt. Even the "dunkle Hirngespinnst, das uns Lieb' and Lust verleidet"¹³ was not frightened by the superficially borrowed Hellenism. The phantom of religion emerges once again, as mentioned, in the aged ailing Heine. The literary quarrel with Börne in the particular work against the latter was thus fully empty. Heine did not hold in his hands the standard of the gods of a new epoch, for whose sake he proclaimed he had to combat the religiously backward Börne. It was put together from all sorts of plunder, which the Jewish author had collected from the most diverse dwellings of others, partly dead, partly living peoples. With this many-coloured rubbish did he parade; but never and nowhere was he able to even appropriate to himself something entire and unfragmented. Of the pure and respectable clothing of other peoples he received no piece; only the cast-off and shreds fell victim to his Jewish muse.

The mere prose writer Börne belongs in that semi-polemical field in which politics and theatre criticism are found together. But Börne has

¹³ "the dark phantom which spoils our love and pleasure".

something of a reputation only through the political opposition which he conducted in connection with the July Revolution in his letters from Paris. These Parisian letters¹⁴ are, so to speak, his masterpiece. They are the only work about which one has inquired in wider circles and they still have, next to the fully fragmentary in the literary criticisms and the like, at least as much coherence as a historical event to which they are connected inevitably lends to mere letters. Moreover, they treat of everything possible and are truly not a work of art. Heine has indeed characterised the style as sentences in "dog-trot". Some cynical toughness is all that is in its right place from time to time in Börne's political opposition. This opposition itself however sprang, like all Jewish opposition, from the Jewish hatred and the striving for emancipation. The Jews have, as I have already noted in the first chapter, become popular among the educated for a time through their piece of apparent political free thought. Börne has the chief share, in a literary way, in this fact.

Heine was too changeably lacking in composure and distracted with his buffoonery in all directions for him to be able to have held a strong course in his political opposition. He was, in connection with the contemporary French events, Liberal, indeed occasionally gestured even in a revolutionary manner. Basically, however, the litterateur and joker predominated who from time to time turned his witticisms and pranks also against the radical. The emphatic nature of Börne, on the other hand, permitted a sort of conviction and a little coherence. But finally Börne stumbled strongly. He shows himself here as the Jew who was far more tenacious and doubled, so to speak, in Börne than in Heine. Börne says of the Roman poet of the early Empire, Horace, that he understood how to be a "slave with grace". If Börne had experienced in our German affairs even the next generation, he would have seen and perhaps also understood how the Jews manage to be slaves without grace; for, the Liberalistic phenomenon and its unaesthetic nature has thereby been nothing graceful.

Börne can also serve as an example of how Jewish lack of judgement regarding the literary greats fares and how this lack of judgement plays out in addition, without shame, its alleged trumps in awkward and ordinary expressions. Thus Börne has spoken in his writings of a "pointed idealistic beak of Schiller's" and a "broad" realistic muzzle of Goethe's, and, just next to these, been able to add further more than merely ignoble

¹⁴ *Briefe aus Paris*, Hamburg, 1832-34.

expressions, that Schiller and Goethe were only for their time and that they are only "registers of the past". Lessing, on the other hand, is even for the following age and he is, in contrast to Schiller and Goethe, an "index of the future". This Börnian, genuinely Jewish, high evaluation of Lessing however should not in the least surprise. The Jew Börne was indeed filled with the right of Judaism to a mastery not merely encroaching on the literary! In a review which was underhanded and misleading to the public of a scholarly work (incidentally suffering from a Kantianising philosophasterish weakness) on *Judaism* (by L. Holst, Mainz, 1821), he made to the author of the same an explanation which is significant even today for the conduct of the Jews. He brought to his attention that he, Börne, hoped to experience still the time when every such inflammatory writing against the Jews would bring its author either into the prison or the lunatic asylum; Börne died, now, in 1837. In 1881, however, these religious wishes of the Jewish race, in spite of their since then powerfully increased power, have not been fulfilled but they have received in the meantime as an answer some serious stirrings of the peoples against the Jews who, on the other hand, for their part proclaimed once again the Börnian wish, with the most immediate appeals to the police.

4. I have dwelt somewhat longer and more generally on the travesty which is called, in the narrow sense, literature. In the meanwhile, one needed only to look around in the Jewish press of the last half of the 19th century in order to recognize how the litterateurs lived off Heine and Börne and how they threw around themselves ways of speech or alleged witticisms from these sources. This phenomenon was most instructive in Germany's Social Democratic press. Here the Judaising was most complete, that is, in the Marxist section of this press-chorus. This Judaising rose to an exclusive mastery of the Jewish element of the press acting in a Social Democratic way. Old Testament and Talmudic insinuations in the forms of speech in these newspapers often enough betrayed from where their writers had acquired their little bit of education. On this point, the most customary Jewish papers of business with other orientations agreed with those of the Social Democratic agitation business, inasmuch as they also combated or - better expressed - dirtied one another otherwise. Moreover, earlier, within Social Democracy itself, when it still fell into a double rule, the Leipziger Marxists were scorned by the Berliner Lassalists who had at that time non-Jewish leaders. The Mühlendamm was at that time a street in Berlin in which the Jewish traders in old clothes had their home for an unimaginably long time. The adorning catchword therefore signified the worn learning of Jews of the manner

and variety of Mr. Marx, as well as their trade in old skirts and trousers thrown out from the wardrobe of knowledge. The increasing Judaising went hand in hand with the removal of the split in Social Democracy, and, if the Socialist Law¹⁵ had not withdrawn from view, as with a lid, the entire bravely fawning Jewry of this sphere, the press and the pamphlet literature would today reveal its Jewish physiognomy in its fullest glory; for, it was on the way to destroying the last traces of every non-Jewish element and every stirring in Social Democracy not obedient to the Jews. If ever the genuine people¹⁶ were plagued by the infection of the Jewish mind, it occurred here. The better mind of real popular socialism could not appear in this Jewish caricature of social democracy, and the moral bankruptcy which paved the way for the external suppression of the popular elements and reduced them to a game with parliamentary trivialities was a work of the Jewish instinct posing as social democratic and of the transformation of socialistic propaganda into a Jewish business. But I have to speak here only of literature and not yet of politics.

To the ordinary and fully unclean way for which Heine, especially in his later writings, had provided massive and arid material, the second half of the 19th century added further intensified specimens through less talented Jews. Through the emancipation of the Jewry the most extreme things were achieved in literary meanness and inhumanly adverse tone. One does not at all need to place the emphasis on the Lassalleian seductions. Where, in general, the Jews were the chief dealers and propagators in the press and literature, there also was increasingly introduced meanness and sloppiness of style and of manners. In a similar way did that shamelessness advance which consisted in the litterateurs of a race foreign to us fundamentally slandering German nature. Heine had already begun with deriding the national movements which continued after the wars of freedom. On the other hand, he had in prose and verse always conducted the affair of the Jewry - a fact which does not lose in the least its basic character through the occasional mixing in of a couple of jokes on the "more or less bent" noses of his racial comrades. In the most recent Jewish press and Jewish literature, and indeed precisely most audaciously in the ones posing as Social Democratic or radical, however, the "thinking skull of the Germans" is incessantly scorned and the "Gér-

¹⁵ Bismarck passed a Socialist Law in 1878 banning all Socialist unions and newspapers and attacking the Social Democratic leaders.

¹⁶ i.e. the Germans.

man Michael" has been continuously pushed into the face of the nation. If, however, one wished to say even the smallest trifle on the characters of the Jewish race, this was considered as a *lèse Majesté*, indeed as blasphemy, smothered as forcibly as possible, and where it was a matter of the public, on the other hand, all the Jewish gods, from Jehovah to Lesing, were called upon. Tolerance was said to be harmed if the nation, accused of simpleness and dazedness, which was derided for its "thinker skulls", once again pointed to what sort of sacred things conduct their life behind the Jewish skull. The Jewish skull is, to be sure, not a thinking skull; the Lord God and business - insofar as it is not empty - claim all space therein from ancient times. Chosen vanity and a sort of megalomania of the little tribe gives the wind which blows into their thoughts. With such a provision, these nomads and, as Voltaire considered them, these gypsies from Palestine wish to openly tease and abuse us in our North, at our own table. The German people should permit that to be offered to them, because it is patient in the most generous way! As far as I am concerned, I have, as an old Swede, insofar as my scientific works were qualified for that, already for a long time let the justice always be done to the Jews which they deserve for their presumption. The German, to be sure, moves his limbs mostly only when the usurpations become too malicious; but if he does that once, then he does that which he undertakes - no matter what - also in a fundamental way. He knows to take hold of the root of the evil itself, whether he acts as a popular element or as an element of the higher educated society. In the latter case, however, he carries out, first, a subtle investigation; he makes sure how it stands with the infection of the intellectual air which he has to breathe. If he knows then the seat of the diseased substance which harms him then he does not hesitate to enter with the most modern means of disinfection. This he will have to do soon in the press and literature. But this belongs to the field of disciplining. Here at first only the capacity for science and for intellectual creations is in question.

5. Now what sort of decision does the "people of thinkers" have to give to the little tribe of traders, when it is a question of scientific articles? I mean, our nation has, not merely in the external battle of the peoples, but also in the field of science, to let the cleaning and relieving action follow the long matured ideas. That which is spread of Jewish articles in the market as science, without being science, and every falsified intellectual ware must be signalled, so that everybody can protect himself therefrom. In real science, the critical history of knowledge is the worthiest place to hold the first court and the one decisive for all further

speaking of a Marxist century. The humour however became complete only when rather similarly people spoke of a Jewish century; for this entire so-called science in which such propagandistic Jews made a business aims, in its way, also not at the supposed happiness of the nations but at the merging of all nations into a Jewish kingdom. In this Jewish kingdom characterising itself as communistic the people of the chosen tribe would be the administrators of the common treasures of the nations and care for their gold, silver, and clothes, as they have been accustomed to do since their first social act in Egypt. Then they will be done with science; the only one for which they have a talent is that which leads to the treasure chambers of other peoples. For that a key and other instruments are necessary; but the science of the key which has been tended all over the world with or without the Jewry by chosen protégés of Mercury¹⁸ is not to be confused with the key to science, even if the latter were a skeleton key. But, in order to come across even just this skeleton key, we must turn from the Jewish litterateurs and intriguers of Socialism to less insignificant phenomena such as Ricardo was.

The economising Jews, no matter whether so-called Socialists or not, value Ricardo in a characteristic way as the greatest national economist, whom Adam Smith does not equal. This modesty is as comical as illuminating; the national economy of the chosen and unique people must also be, itself, chosen and unique. We however who do not judge from a friendship for the chosen race cannot say anything of how chosen Ricardo was, but only of what he had chosen from other scientists and scientific articles in order to put the latter once again on the market as new, for his own account. In this way, he had only obscured somewhat the ground-rent theory which, in its older and more natural form, already in the 18th century, was based by Anderson on profitability-differences, but essentially brought forward nothing in his tricky arguments which could be called original. Still his doctrine of the profitability-differences for the explanation of the ground-rent is the only thing which one can bring into question with relation to Ricardo in the history of national economic doctrine or, rather, of the accompanying influential inaccuracies. Ricardo had, as a hero of the stock-exchange, a special tendency to explain all profits from accumulated differences and so shaped the ground-rent theory borrowed from others properly according to his natural inclination and

¹⁸ Dühring is referring here to one of the antique Egyptian philosophical books of Hermes (Mercury) Trismegistus called "The Key".

constructed that misformation whose insecurity was illuminated by List and Carey and characterized by me as the birth of a hopeless phantasy and a sharp, abrupt, perplexed *raisonnement*. The original core which served as the point of departure for this misconstruction was, as mentioned, not at all grown on Ricardo's soil itself. Moreover, Ricardo lived off the Malthusian overpopulation doctrine in which he had got caught up and showed even here his dependence, which was clearly once again not at all a dependence in that which is accurate, but only in that which is inaccurate. In the realm of the stock-exchange and money, one should think that Ricardo must have most easily brought forward original doctrines. But even here nothing is to be found, unless the darkness spread over paper money and the price of ingots should be considered as something. In what light the Jewish banker saw things is evidenced by his generous theoretical sketch according to which the Bank of England had to be removed so that the private bankers could participate in its businesses. One finds in my *History of Economics*¹⁹ still more similar characteristic things of note which reveal the Jewish mentality. Besides scientific inadequacy, there is stressed there also the so to speak aesthetic cumbersomeness in the sharpness of the application of ideas and in the angularity of his style. In fact, Ricardo does not deny his Jewishness even in this direction. His manner of thought process was indeed sharp but at the same time, interrupted and fragmented from point to point, without a constant connection, without true logic, and, in consequence of that, without harmony, even as to the external impression.

In the relatively exact sciences, in mathematics, the Jews have recently, I mean in the 19th century, provided a famous contribution to the fact that they can play even here only a secondary role dependent on real greats of other races. In my third work on the history of science which deals with the principles of mechanics,²⁰ I have made evident the complete dependence of the Jewish mathematician Jacobi²¹ on the Irish

¹⁹ *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus*, (1st ed. Berlin, 1871).

²⁰ *Kritische Geschichte der allgemeinen Principien der Mechanik*, (1st ed. Berlin, 1873).

²¹ Carl Gustav Jacob Jacobi (1804-1851), the Jewish mathematician who worked for eighteen years at the University of Königsberg and was noted for his investigations into the theory of elliptical functions carried out in competition with the Norwegian mathematician Abel.

astronomer Hamilton.²² In the 2nd. edition (1877), from which onwards an Instruction for the study of mathematical sciences has been appended to the work, it has been pointed to how the Jew Jacobi stood much below the Norwegian genius Abel²³ and really only followed him. In addition to the borrowings, however, there is in Jacobi also the ungainly, cumbersome, and fragmented way of his presentation in which an expert must, even without knowing anything else of it, recognize the Jew immediately. Some talent is even not, by far, genius, and if one, to set up the most extreme case, recalls Lagrange's²⁴ intellectually and aesthetically harmonious thought process and presentation, one comprehends the aversion which the Jew Jacobi felt and badly concealed with regard to this high model. Since Jacobi, the Jewish affectations have become more frequent in mathematics; but the unfruitfulness and distracted incapacity in the realm of this science has also considerably risen in the next and present generation. The circumstance that the elements of the Jewish race who are, in the most favorable case, rather calculating knaves forced themselves into the mathematical instruction business which stood more open than other learned professions, with the exception of the medical, has worked harmfully, especially since mathematics, without this, was during the Judaising phase also elsewhere in decline. In general, it is a sign of the decline of every realm, whether it belong now to science, art, or to life, if the Jews enter into the foreground therein. This is the certain mark, that the better powers are lacking or find themselves suppressed in the midst of the surrounding corruption. The Jews, who do not create anything even in science, but even there only conduct business with the

²² Sir William Rowan Hamilton (1805-1865), the Irish mathematician and astronomer who developed a significant algebraic theory of quaternions and discovered the phenomenon of conical refraction.

²³ Niels Henrik Abel (1802-1829) Norwegian mathematician noted for his contributions to algebraic theory.

²⁴ Joseph-Louis Lagrange (1736-1813) was an Italian French mathematician who made very significant contributions to the theory of numbers and to analytic and celestial mechanics. Between 1766 and 1787 Lagrange worked at the Berlin Academy on the invitation of Frederick the Great. On his return to Paris in 1787, Lagrange worked at the Louvre under Louis XVI's patronage. There he published his classic treatise, *Mécanique analytique* (1788), which remained the standard work on the subject and the one on which all later research was based.

products and the work of another may occasionally put on the market individual talents and especially acquisitive talents - the creative power and genius, however, remain always foreign to them.

What I have shown for the sciences researched specially by me and based on my own investigations is found confirmed in general also in all other sciences. Where one has to name really significant names, if they are not those of Jews, and where Jews are to be named at all, exceptionally, in real science, they seldom come up to even only the third rank. I mean here self-evidently science in the more serious sense, and not rather speculation on a religious basis; for, in the latter, the scientific capacity is less important than the rootedness of the attribute of religion. On this point, as the example of Spinoza shows, the Jews can be permitted in any case only the second rank. In that, however, which one calls literature in the narrow sense they only manage, as the example of Heine has shown, only mixed talents in which a mixture of foreign feelings and peculiar disharmonies conducts its course. It would lead me into very low fields if I wished to pursue the Jewry, which makes a business today in the commercialisation of German literature, to the pulp novels and the newspapers. The scandal which lies in the fact that precisely their incapacity leads the public by the nose and exploits it through its clique businesses is here only too tangible for every informed man and one endowed with judgement. Here, one does not need to name the small names at all; here it teems in all directions with Jewish litterateurs and Jewish revues. With this variety of literary business it stands similarly as with their own newspapers. Jewish-owned, Jewish-edited, and serviceable in a Jewish way to all the bad interests - that is, in this literary field, the current hopeless signature. Corruption and lack of every sense for the human, respectable values, not to speak of the great and the noble, as well as betrayal and sale of every better thing, are spread here with their mendacious nature and their falsified literary ware. Besides the aesthetically ugly and distorted in the fragmentary manners of the Jewish literature, there is still the morally adverse. The loyalty of man towards man - this basic characteristic of better nationalities is something which angers the Jew and the opposite of which he puts on the market wherever he goes, even in that which he produces by himself in a literary way. But the moral smells and infections have already been described earlier in general and have, in the literary and journalistic Jewish literature, no basically different, but only somewhat more refined, traits than in the other professional branches. The education, or rather miseducation, increases the badness further through a refined slyness which deceives the inner man

himself and is therefore more contradictory than the common commercial betrayal in the customary trade and dealings. In the latter, only the material interests are negotiated and got rid of; in the literary profession, however, the intellectual matters are directly corrupted, betrayed and sold. But what the moral deficiencies in the Jewishness of literature do not corrupt is taken care of by the hereditary affinity for the ordinary and ungainly; as will later be demonstrated also in art.

6. There is a means of taking in hand the Jewishness in the literature of the moment, without worrying about the individual anonymities in the whirlpool of petty authorial existences. One needs only to consider the advertisements with which the Jews seek at present, at any cost, to raise their Lessing up to a god after they have for a century raised his fame ten times more than what he is worth with all the arts of false praise. The business which the Jewish press and Jewish literature have always systematically made out of bringing a powerful overvaluation of Lessing into the public has recently been carried out indeed to the point of disgust. The Jewish newspaper writers have raised the author of that flat Jewish piece which is entitled *Nathan der Weise* over the greatest authors and poets and declared him to be, for example, the greatest German, to say something against whom would be a *lèse Majesté*. They have indirectly declared that they place him high above Schiller, as indeed Börne already did; indeed they have even glorified him as a superman who, in a monumental personification, has to claim a place towering above everything. He must, if others below were formed as men, be enthroned above as a god. In this way did different journal articles run on the occasion of the death centenary day of Lessing, and to that point did the Jewish modesty climb. How high the Jews wish to place Lessing for themselves and among themselves is their own affair. If they might clear up the place next to Jehovah for him or make him also quite alone their new God - that has nothing to do with us Germans and with literature. The Jews have more than a special reason for this cult; for, their Lessing is theirs in more than one sense, indeed belongs to them predominantly even in terms of blood.

Already the name Lessing is one which even at present reveals everywhere its Jewish character. It occurs, as far as I know, only among people among whom the Jewish heredity is sufficiently visible. As regards the family tree of the author Lessing, the circumstance that in it even preachers are found is, however, really not a counter-proof against Jewish blood. Baptisms have taken place in abundant measure in earlier times and there are visibly, precisely in the most recent time, by no

means few pastors of Jewish origin, and even a preference of Jewish blood for this occupation. The Jewish blood mixture however can be recognized in the intellectual constitution at least as well as in the body or in hereditary documents. Lessing himself is an excellent example for it. His authorial manners and his intellectual affectations are Jewish. His literary products give evidence everywhere of Jewishness in form and content. Indeed, what one could call his chief works are fragmentary works and reveal the incompleteness peculiar to the Jews even in style and presentation. The 'Laokoon'²⁵ and the so-called dramaturgy are without real composition and mere fragments which in turn consist of the loose linking together of broken statements. Indeed, even within these individual statements, fits and starts predominate in the connection of the individual sentences, and produces a style which is not natural and is distinguished often by the most definite opposite of an elegant connection of thoughts. But one is still more reminded of the Jewish ungainly manners and the stamp of Jewish polemics where Lessing talks not as an art critic, but, as in the 'Antigöze',²⁶ in the realm of theological squabbings. There the Jews find themselves most at home by virtue of their type and manner; for, there they are reminded, still more than elsewhere, of the base and the vicious, or, in order to just use the popular expression, of the brashness of their hereditary way of speaking.

In the form and in the external aspect of writing, Lessing is accordingly everywhere Jewish. The former points already to the innermost kernel, and the latter is then also found, corresponding fully to the Jewish appearance. The advertisement has risen to the point of making the author of *Emilia Galotti* and of *Nathan* indeed a real poet, whereas it was maintained, even among the praisers, that the other Lessingian plays leave one cold. For tragedies Lessing was fully lacking in passion or, better expressed, in emotional power. But even in the flat and faint variety of indifferent drama, as in *Nathan*, he remained, quite apart from the tendency to glorify the Jews, tepid and slack. In general, the Lessingian plays are not, in the remotest, products of creative art but nothing more than products of arid artifice. Yet, even so it would have been able, disregard-

²⁵ *Laokoon: oder über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesis* (1766).

²⁶ Lessing's polemical writings against the Hamburg Chief Pastor Johan Melchior Goeze, who represented Lutheran orthodoxy against Lessing's rationalistic Biblical criticism. Lessing modelled the Patriarch in *Nathan* after Goeze.

ing its frostily worked out arrangements, to have at least some content and give evidence of correct observation of human affects. Only, even this is not the case. Thus, for example, one sees in *Emilia Galotti*, which is related to the real thing as its unnatural distorted image, that Lessing's lack of emotion went so far as not to know love in its nobler human form at all even from outside. In him it does not reach beyond coarse sensuality, and even this is genuinely Jewish. But Lessing even presumed so far against the Goethean Werther as to say that a Greek or Roman youth would have known to help himself otherwise. Such a statement is directed not merely against the special case of the Goethe-Werther, whom one has to expose on other grounds, but against that death in which the power of love and of its loss acts. A cheeky Jewish youth would nevertheless like to explain himself and help himself in such a way if he could in general come into such a situation with his coarser excitements, which do not know the nobler love capable of self-sacrifice. But the Romeos will not estimate their lost love in a Jewish commercial way and wish to bury it in other ecstasy. Lessing however places in all treatments of love only his Jewish base sensuality. The feelings of non-Jewish peoples, and especially of the Germans, were foreign to him. Above this, he fostered a very low and very common conception of woman which, to be sure, cannot be surprising in someone who customarily sought his support and society in gambling-dens and perspired strongly, in the literal sense of the word, at the faro-table in high stakes.

To this lack of emotional power there was added everywhere yet another lack in analytical understanding of actual emotional processes. From this is explained the fact that Lessing remained unfruitful not merely in the attempted exercise of art, but also basically erred in its theory. Both belong to him together, although one has always attempted to hold up the art-critic above all things, even where one had to expose the poet directly. In truth, however, that which one calls the Lessingian doctrine of drama and which has been given out as groundbreaking is a slavish reproduction of principles from the *Poetics* of Aristotle, which is for Lessing, as he himself expresses, as infallible as the Axioms of Euclid. This philologising supporting of the main content of the entire so-called dramaturgy on an Aristotelian definition of tragedy, of clearly doubtful interpretation, but of undoubted awkwardness and wrongness, is very characteristic of the desire for rigid Jewish-like authority of the theatre-litterateur who has been branded as an artistic reformer. The latter had in the main no real idea, but held to the golden mean to which Aristotle wished to see everything, including even the tragic heroes,

reduced. But to go closer into this reduction would lead away from Lessing, who only imitates here. His fault is not that Aristotelian misjudgement of heroism; but it is indeed his fault that he made a pedantically authoritarian dramaturgy according to this false model. The idea, misguided from the outset, has then also avenged itself. 'Emilia Galotti' should have become such a heroine after the tragic standard of Aristotle, but has remained behind, which says much; for, the heroes cut from Aristotelean pattern are also already anyway mediocrities who cannot be free of fault and perfect, but also not bearers of a great fault. Everything must run in a pretty Aristotelian fashion in the middle between the extremes, and in Lessing's sense, must also observe the Aristotelian tragic sympathy of this mediocrity. Real poets have, neither in antiquity nor in the modern age, been able to create something in the sense of such a mediocre pattern, and the naturalness of life has been able to realize the tragic conflicts only in the bearers of full and total powers and passions. Yet I would not like to get into those things further here; for, if one wishes thereby to examine Lessing in detail, one must immediately abandon the ground of immediate truths and of Nature, and follow him step by step on the arid field of antiquarian scholarship and authoritarian disputes over foreign, and often very empty, opinions. Something like that would, however, lie quite outside the scope of the work at hand and, for this reason, must the 'Laokoon' too, which did not fare particularly better than the dramaturgy, be left aside. Yet, at least the antimoralistic trait must be emphasized that Lessing makes not the inner truth but the impression on the public the explanatory law of the artistic work. Hereby it occurs to him, for example, that Agamemnon, who is present, but disguised, at the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia, is left merely represented with a covered face by the painter, so that the public may remain spared the supposed ugly distortion of the face. It is however quite naturally obvious for one who understands such things that Agamemnon had to disguise himself in order at least not to see the frightful thing at which he had to be present, and, in addition perhaps, also in order to withdraw from the burdensome observing glances. But that does not agree with Lessing, who himself self-evidently finds in art contradictions of Nature and conscious falsifications of the truth when the consideration of the "pleasure"²⁷ of the public is in question. "Pleasure" is, in general, the noble word which he finds to be in place even with regard to the tragic.

²⁷ referring to the French literary criterion of 'plaisir'.

There is a true Jewish linguistic spirit in such a choice of words and the circumstance that they are inept borrowings from the French, quite differently formed, linguistic usage should not excuse even a Jew, if he wishes to speak German or, indeed, artistic German.

Of the reason why the Jew mostly lies at the bottom of Lessing's heart the least need be said. The article against the Hamburger pastor Goeze and *Nathan* rest on a very low intellectual level. They should be elucidatory but in truth pay homage to a generalized Jewish religion. Under the appearance of fighting for tolerance, they work for a general Judaising of the way of thought. Thus it is clear that the name Goeze could become to the Jews a Shibboleth which they cry about in the case of everything which is not pleasant to them. I have however never been able to estimate the difference between Goeze and Lessing as high. On the contrary, it soon became clear, in view of the Jewish advertisement, that the entire divergence consisted in the fact that the pastor Götze on the one side and the Jewish Götze on the other side rushed at each other and operated theologically in a way which never had an interest for higher intellectual education, but is today also no longer enjoyable even for the intermediate.

If one examined the character of Lessing, whether it be in his private actions, whether it be in relation to the way of thought revealed in his writings, even here the Jewishness would be confirmed in the most diverse directions. The recalling of a single example can suffice here. Lessing helped himself secretly to an important, currently withdrawn, manuscript copy of Voltaire through his secretary, travelled from there with it, moreover; and Voltaire, when he found out the truth, had to first send a sort of warrant of arrest after him in order to get it back. The secretary hereby lost his position. A man of respectable principles would not have behaved like Lessing, to whom moreover the suspicion still clings of having obtained the Voltairean work early by surreptitious means for the goal of mere literary acquisition. The Jews have called this Lessingian piece only a "small negligence" and not let themselves also be otherwise hindered by anything from giving Lessing out to be the greatest character and the greatest man, indeed from speaking of a "holy Lessing". Frederick the Great, however, who was troubled repeatedly with suggestions of Lessing's appointment as Librarian, was right in keeping him at a distance. He was, with his judgement against the character and the customary characteristics of Lessing, a better representative of his people than the later undiscerning literary historians who let themselves be misled by the Jewish standard or themselves operated with a Jewish

standard. Lessing's merits are only merits for the Jews; he had no serious significance, not as a poet and not also as an art critic. There remains therefore only the Jewish tendentiousness. A performance of *Nathan* cannot, accordingly, be considered any longer as an artistic act, but only as a Jewish demonstration.

Some talent, and such, moreover, of the Jewish sort, does not make up true literary greatness. Besides, that modest talent consisted chiefly in aiming at the representation of high-points which Lessing had, moreover, learnt from the French, and especially Voltaire. If he for that reason rules the French aesthetic, this was as just as that borrowing of points of style; for, the French had accomplished the reaction against the unnatural already amongst themselves, that is, through the mind of Rousseau, which was strong precisely in this one-sidedness. Lessing, with Aristotle as his Euclid, and in his frosty way, as well as without understanding of ideal life, was not the man to reach independently beyond the partialities and aberrations of the French taste. He appropriated only what had already come to a breakthrough among the English and partly also among the Germans, and he could thereby philologise only in a destructive and antiquarian way. Even his ordinary appeal not to speak the most extreme praises is based nine-tenths on false Jewish advertisement. The remaining tenth however does not justify the Jews in demanding a special attention to him from the German nation.

I have had to dwell here longer on Lessing and devote to him some pages, although his alleged poetry, his inartistic art-criticism, his theological polemics, his spokesmanship for the Jew and, finally, his deficient and Jewish character itself make up the subject of a special small work of mine (*Die Überschätzung Lessings und seiner Befassung mit Literatur*, 1906). The preceding hurried treatment is however based here only on the fact that the overvaluation of Lessing by the Jews forms the example lying closest at hand, and the most popular, of the effects of the most unashamed Jewish advertisement, and that Lessing himself, together with Börne and Heine, represents a group of literary renown which must be briefly characterized as a Jewish group and be separated from the really creative and truly original greats like Voltaire, Rousseau, Bürger, Byron, to a certain extent also Goethe, Schiller, and Shelley. If the Jews did not have the daily press in their hands, it would not have been possible to falsify the truth with so many tears before the eyes of the peoples, to displace the natural judgement and to force everywhere an interested Jewish opinion in its place. Where this could be carried on unrestrainedly in such a manner, the peoples affected by this misfortune would have had

to look for a grave for their mind at first in Jewish superficiality and commonness and, finally, under filthy Jewish falsehood.

7. On art in general I have upto now said nothing; for, Lessing's, incidentally, was of getting to know in the Jews just their own art of advertisement. And I do not know how one could bring into question actual art among the Jews except as in a purely negative way. Fine arts and the Jewry are opposites which exclude each other. Already the usual Jew is, in his manners, an object of popular comedy. I shall leave it to others to paint the sharpness in the external figure of the Jew; for my subject here is not to provide plastic models. I recall this physical constitution only in order to show that the intellectual corresponds to it. The opposite of all art is the Jew both in himself, with his body and the manners of external motion, and in all which he does, speaks, writes, and thinks, besides. He is inartistic in every context. Out of need and defect, however, he has insolently made an appearance of virtue. He cannot make any image for himself - that is the basic truth. He should not make any image for himself - that is his primeval religious principle. In this way the hereditary incapacity for art is already mirrored in the religious principles. Artistic imagination has remained foreign to the history of the chosen people already on the ground of Palestine. The Jews themselves wish to excuse the lack of an artistic development among themselves by that religious prohibition which forbids pictures of the Lord God, of everything which is in heaven, and along with that - to speak in the language of better nations - of all ideals. In their hereditary astuteness, however, they confuse the cause with the effect. Their inherited lack of imagination is the cause of their aversion to clear illustration, and correspondingly also a reason of the religious statutes founded by them. They feel that they stumble and trip when they engage in art. They arrive at most, if they wish to embody an ideal, at the golden calf, and, in order to smother this piece of ungainly, golden-splendour-seeking imagination, have cut off from themselves even their little remainder of imagination and very wisely left fallow the only artistic disposition which they apparently possess, namely that of setting up the golden calf physically for veneration. They celebrate it now as an invisible spirit which lives and moves formless among them.

In relation to a special branch of art, which concerns a completely imageless art, namely in relation to music, the Jewish disposition has similarly been discovered to be completely inconsiderable. The little bit of lyricism about which one can, as mentioned above, still inquire considering the Psalms and similar things among the Jews, could however - so

one would have thought - have been accompanied by a little music. But even on this point the muse of Sinai has openly, in spite of lightning and thunder, with all the other sounds, registered no honour in world-history and upto the most recent age. I shall still not mention in the first place the judgement of those who, like the composer Richard Wagner, to a certain degree antipathetic to Judaism, were at first embarrassed by the latter and even already early entered into the arena against the Jewish nature. One may rather be reminded in the first place of how the Jew, Heinrich Heine, joked about the "great Beerenmayer", and thus did not himself conceal the contempt against that Meyerbeer whom Richard Wagner characterised as the modern top-coating for the incapacity of the Jews for creative musical accomplishments. Moreover, even in the synagogues and in the ritual, the hereditary ungainliness is to be observed. A Jewish assembly betrays, like every Jewish school, immediately in speech and manner that inborn talent for the opposite of all art. Such affectation lies quite far out of the way from serious human speech and behaviour. The ugly rules here in loud ejaculation and stirring of the limbs. If already the Wagnerian writing on Judaism in music²⁸ pointed to these completely inaesthetic affectations and condemned the Jewish music as inartistic, this had to mean something. It weighed much, because Richard Wagner, who himself loved intoxication in music, could not set the strictest standard for the intoxication of the muse of Sinai. Insofar as the Jewish press strode out against the Orpheus of Bayreuth, this occurred in its innermost motives less on account of the formal constitution of his music as in the correct sensing that his German national materials do not suit a general Judaising of the mind. The reactionary Romantic, and moreover even very strange, attitude of the Wagnerian texts and, in general, of the entire accompanying way of thought offered here the point of attack and the pretext; but the Hebrews would have moved still more decisively against something which was German national but at the same time free of every reactionary Romantic trimming and ridiculous abnormality. In fact, later, even the opposition between Richard Wagner and the Jews is more dim. In him, the emancipation from the Jews, which he himself had opposed to the emancipation of the Jews, did not take place in his own affairs to the end. In the following of the lyre of the 'Orpheus

²⁸ In 'Das Judenthum in der Musik' (see Richard Wagner, 'Judaism in Music' in *Prose Works*, Vol.III, tr. W.A. Ellis, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1892-99).

of Bayreuth' were found many rich Jews and their substantially lenient donations for the production of the 'music of the future'. Since he did not think that he could do without this following, and since the present sound of the Jewish money belonged with the equipment of the 'music of the future', he let his anti-Jewish dissonances strive for increasingly milder accords and were inaudible under that metallic clang. His own journal, the *Bayreuther Blätter*, carried on at the end of the seventies such a gentle talk on the Jews that even it came to writing many pages long on them, but under basic avoidance of the term 'Jew'. Indeed, it was to be heard in it that those of the "foreign element" who attached themselves to Wagner were raised therewith into a higher spiritual sphere and that, in this way, the opposition would be balanced out. The people of Jewish race contributing to the Orpheus of Bayreuth were thus liberated herewith of their Jewish characteristics. That is more than indulgence. Wagner understood art apparently, according to this, as redeeming the Jews from themselves by means of the Wagner associations and patronage certificates, something which Christ even did not achieve. Indeed, Wagner, who wished also to represent a sort of universal reformer, still collected taxes thereby from the Jews. The truth without gloss is, however, that he could not redeem himself from the Jews. Still, the service should not be contested in him of already early entering as an independent writer into the Jewish question and of having brought to expression some characteristics pertaining to art as well as to the secret literary persecution-mania of the Jews. In an artist, especially in such a one whom already Schopenhauer, who was in matters of sober imagination not the most critical, could describe as fantastic, the lack of political and social judgement is understandable. With generally intellectual, indeed artistic, points of view, even if they were found in order and normality, there has and would not have been anything consequential to gain for the Jewish question, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that, in the case of Richard Wagner's frictions with the Jews, nothing remarkable ever emerged.

In general, art and belletristic literature would be capable of something in the dejudaising and free formation of the nature of the peoples of better sort if only they were not even today so very weak and dependent, especially also still Jewish-dependent. The real science, on the other hand, would by virtue of its stronger constitution be more adequate; only, even it is degraded, and indeed not merely to manifold serviceability to the Jews, but in general through uninformed and slavish conduct of its appointed craftsmen and its comedians, who would, out of vanity, like to appear to play a role in it. Therefore the discussion of the Jews must first

have made a decisive progress socially and politically before the forces of second and third rank, namely erudition, fine literature and art, attain in some through the courage to advance. Least suited is here the little tribe of aesthetes who, especially today, understand more to take up form and content from foreign influence than to create and provide forms. Instead of forming matter they are themselves a pliant matter accessible to every stamp and impression. Their function begins always only when a thing is decided elsewhere and they know now whom they have to follow. For this reason the socialitarian and political side of the Jewish question is the immediately practically decisive. It is this also because already the Jewish nature is completely directed to the material interests. In this coarse and base material direction also lies a chief reason of the incapacity of the Jews to prove themselves creative in science and art. There is lacking in them that free and unselfish activity of the mind which alone advances to uninterested truth and beauty. The greatest scientists and the greatest artistic natures have been that only through the fact that they were raised, with their way of thought, above the common interest, indeed this elevation extended mostly up to the point of leaping over that which one calls common life-happiness. The Jew now is, already according to his racial temperament, precisely the opposite. He has no higher scientific and artistic capacities; but even if he did have them, he would not, by virtue of his lower material orientation, develop them creatively; for, this requires a sort of unselfish energy which is fully lacking in him, indeed which is not understandable to him in others. It agrees therefore very well with the other Jewish characteristics that the creative powers in science, literature and art are lacking. Some talent, which however remains far removed from creative genius and mostly indeed only apes, is all that is found exceptionally among individual Jews. Almost always, however, this talent is, above all, one of appropriation and of trading with the intellectual accomplishments of others. The Jew signifies mostly a foreign mind as well as foreign wealth. Just as, in mathematics, he does not tend to creative work, so also he performs in the intellectual nothing genuine and positive. This is the world-historical fact which has been brought to light throughout the entire survey up to now. In addition, however, there is a worse affliction, the social and political unsuitability, which adds to the preclusion of finer intellectual communication with the Jews the additional inconvenience that the nations cannot also otherwise communicate with them according to equal reciprocity and equal rights without injury to themselves.

Chapter IV

Political and social unsuitability

1. There is an art which is practiced from Nature and indeed almost instinctively - this is that which gives form to the communal life of man. This is not statecraft in the narrow modern sense of this word but that entire art of human sociability and community on which all lasting links to political and social collective forms depend. Even in this art, now, the Jews, whether they might have opportunity for the formation of their own communal life or live in dispersal among other peoples, have always been only bunglers and corrupters. In Palestine, they have not been able to get along with one another in any other way but through a theocracy, thus the most narrow-minded and worst of all state forms. The slaves of mystic authority, they have never found the rein for their reciprocal greed otherwise than in the slavedom of theocracy. The hardness of their entire external stereotyped laws was a fruit of the hereditary cruelty of the entire racial nature. Only the mystical fear could hinder the covetousnesses from consuming one another. When the fear of the Lord, on which the communal being founded in the desert was established, disappeared in the later centuries, the Jews tore one another apart and in this way matured in the next centuries before Christ to full downfall. Moreover, however, the retention of their hereditary nomadism through all the ages is a sign that the repelling powers and characteristics among them prevailed over those attracting them to one another mutually. Among other peoples, the real nomadism is an original stage of development and is discarded. Among the Jews however there is found, from the start, a sort of nomadism which lasts and indeed develops itself to full bloom with the dispersal of the entire people. The Jews have for thousands of years, in spite of all the wealth that they have sucked up, politically no house,

but live around other peoples. They have become a disintegrating element which penetrates into the other peoples and exploits their political structure for the advantage of the chosen interests.

States, or better expressed, rules have been founded in the world through superiour power with the aid of brutal force; genuine communal systems however have always had essentially other basic principles than naked force. When the Germanic peoples entered into the foreground in world-history, it was evident in all crudeness and in all storms of the migration of the peoples that a certain moral trait formed the cement of this tribe for the purpose of mutual loyalty and ensouled their political institutions. Later, this disposition developed under the pressure of predominant dependence on war and material need to an all-sidedly ramified feudal system. But even in this the hereditary better trait was reflected; for, the feudal loyalty which united the lord and the vassal was a serious moral element. We therefore have reason, in our entire history ruling the medieval and the modern world, to always remember the principle which diverged from the mere force of the Romans into one favorable for humanity and which also could not remain in the individualising small state as it was found among the Greek tribes. With loyalty as the binding instrument the most lasting and comprehensive associations can be produced. If, now, even this deeply moral motive achieved activity only under all sorts of mixtures and deviations, it still forms the kernel on which we have to rely even in the future. If this at first only national and instinctive basic trait is transformed into a general loyalty of man towards man tended consciously and raised as it were to a religion, an essential part of our national vocation is exercised. We have then overcome even in spirit the old one-sided structures of the peoples who have fallen and have ennobled the raw power which created its political and social structures without such a deeply moral motive.

Now, what stands most alien and hostile against this basic trait of striving of the German peoples? What is unpleasant not only to the kernel of our racial nature but, in general, to all better nationalities, and not merely morally but also politically and socially dangerous for it? I mean, it is that racial character of the Jews which has established for itself in the Jewish deed a world-historically unforgettable memory. Judas' betrayal of Christ is nothing accidental which is to be traced back to the special baseness of an individual. The Jews have served not only other peoples but even themselves always with betrayal. What holds them together is the lowest self-interest, and where the pieces of silver order betrayal there it is carried out. That so often falsely famed holding together of the Jews

is only that loose bond of common interests and of self-interest. In truth, the people of betrayal *par excellence* is not capable of holding together in an orderly way, as this has been revealed also by its world-historical disunity and distraction. If the Jews now formed a state, this would turn out far worse than the Polish at the edge of downfall. The Jews would consume and betray one another if they were turned to themselves, could no longer discharge their characteristics on other peoples, and accordingly had to entertain themselves with themselves. Already without this they exercise, even in the present-day situation, sufficient betrayal with regard to one another. As much as the Jew also always prefers the Jew and stands with him against others where this promotes his profit, it requires only some advantage lying on the other side to let the Jew deny his comrades, indeed his own Jewishness. This often develops in a comical manner. The Jewish social agitator, Lassalle, had first sought to de Judaize his name when he frenchified it a little through the addition of the syllable *de* to the Jewish Lassal, wherein his hereditary taste however, and the corresponding logicity, hindered him from removing the doubled 's'. Later he declared, as I have reported in my *History of national economy*, among non-Jewish friends precisely that he could not bear two classes of men, namely the Jews and the litterateurs, and he unfortunately belonged to both. Incidentally, he did not belong to the baptised, but indeed to those who offered themselves according to the commercial situation to baptism. Indeed, in order to deal with his failed marriage business, he offered his conversion to the Catholic Church! That is now the same Lasalle on whom the Jews later pride themselves in their lack of better racial comrades, and whom they glorify, in spite of everything which he has effected against the bourgeoisie and therewith also against themselves, with the most unashamed advertisements. Everything, and not merely their style, is fragmented and distracted. They themselves are under a confused chaos in which all possible forms of profit stir in a wild fashion. Thus they are also not capable of any political positivity and no social creation. The hostility against the human race is also their element politically and socially and from this is explained also everything which we have experienced of them on German soil in the most recent age.

2. The most noble social cement is loyalty and the accompanying piety, i.e., as already explained earlier, the attention to everything serious and great. This piety and the sense for the natural level is lacking in the Jew including that loyalty in all private relations of man to man. This is the endowment of the race and a characteristic dependent on their religion. But indeed the slave-religion with its fear is a fruit of that racial

constitution. The most rigid authority and the most naked religious terrorism are required among a people who lack the mind in which real and natural piety, namely a noble disposition towards the totality of the world and men, could have sprung up. The authority by which such a hardened tribe and one limited to self-interest was apparently united must have had mystical fear and trembling terror before the invisible Lord as its principle; for, all receptivity is lacking in them for the purely human. Herewith, however, even the foundation is lacking for every natural state, and in this sense one can say that the Jews are incapable of a real state in its worldly natural form. They cannot live without the yoke of a theocracy; for, without this they would also fully destroy one another and lose the compass which instructs them to turn their chosen characteristics preferentially against the remaining human race. Thus they represent among the remaining peoples statelessness, and incapacity for a state, *par excellence*. It is therefore also not to be wondered at that, for a long time, one took into account this incapacity and held the Jews basically away from statecraft to which they might have devoted themselves indeed contrary to their capacity and vocation. Rather, the opposite is to be wondered at, that one has in the most recent time become so liberal as to let the Jews penetrate into all possible official and social positions. This lack of concern for the political and social balance and for the already long-lasting disturbance of the same has avenged itself through the Jews. The element incompatible with the political and social welfare of the peoples has filled the most diverse channels of society and established itself indeed even in the seams and folds of the old social wall. Everywhere it works in a devouring manner and has a view to bring to bear the hereditary hostility against the human race through exploitation of its embarrassments and trouble. It also covers over politically and socially what is unattainable to it, and makes a profit-bringing business for itself out of legislation as well as of the party agitation and administration.

It is significant that it must have been precisely the Jews who repeatedly prompted anew to the propertied citizenry on the one hand, and to the working class on the other hand, the discordant terms of class-consciousness, class-interests, and class-hatred, precisely when the chief political and social wisdom lay herein, and when hatred and disharmony between the different population groups were the lever of the wished-for future conditions. Already, the Jewish national economist, Ricardo, cor-

rupted in his book on political economy²⁹ his fruits of study, transposed there from Adam Smith, through the fact that he mixed in a confused discordant representation of how every class makes its profit at the cost of the others. According to this, social economy is an art of acquisition and profit-making according to the opportunity of the economic power situation and under application of all refinements of cheating. What Ricardo accomplished and puzzled out only theoretically, but still in the sense of the bourgeoisie, intriguers and agitators like Messrs. Marx and Lasalle established under the sign and standard of Socialism, in order to infect both contesting sides with the poisonous Jewish hatred, i.e. with the hatred which the Jews foster against the human race. It was not only demanded by Lassalle of the workers on the German soil that they increase their class-consciousness, but indeed that they nourish a class-hatred and devote a formal cult to it as to a principle of liberation. Similarly, only more weakly, did Mr. Marx already express himself, although he had factory owners as comrades in his intrigues, like for instance Mr. Engels, who considered their workers more from the top and ruled more than other bourgeois manage to do. Basically, however, both things go together from the start; for, the rousing up of the one part had, according to the words of these people, to become at the same time a goading of the other part. The hostility had to reciprocally increase, since no common ground remained. Robbery and counter-robbery, or rather - not to forget the characteristic Jewish creeping - thieving and counter-thieving, had to appear as the only forms of intercourse between the two classes. This was in fact sketched in the image of Jewishness. Just as the Jews have formed to themselves a chosen tribal benightedness as well as a racial and religious hatred against the rest of the human race and seek liberation in the cult of this hatred, powerless in everything positive, so should even the workers and bourgeoisie follow their example. The Jewish caustic nature obtained a temporary satisfaction of properly discharging on the non-Jewish element the hereditary and world-historically swollen badness even through their mixing into the social question. In this way were all better and noble socialistic ideas distorted and judaised and the great human goals of true socialism deformed to their very opposite. The class-hatred which had to be directed against everything, only not against the Jewish bourgeoisie, was cultivated so that the Jews could exploit it and reach mastery in the cloven society so much more easily.

²⁹ See p. 110n. above.

But at present the racial consciousness of the nations rises from its sleep upto now and shows to the Jews and the judaised Social Democrats that there is yet another greater opposition than that between workers and bourgeoisie. In the universal social question for the societies of peoples and their different strata, it is essentially a matter of the how of existence; in the Jewish question, however, of the whether of this existence. The former only goes as far as the way of life, the latter reaches to the blood.

3. Of the undermining influence which the Jews always exercise in the long run, wherever they usurp for themselves something of the politics and legislation, I have already brought in, in the first chapter, many important proofs from our most recent history. Here now these and other proofs are to be traced back to the cause of the tribe as a whole and to be observed in the light of the political and social unsuitability of the Jewish race. I recall from the different examples only one, namely the pressure of advocacy which has been assimilated to the justice system of the German Reich through Jewish advocates and other Jewish legislators. Upto 1879, Prussia still had basically another regime which did not know this full representation of the public by advocates. In general, that better condition and the legal principles which originated from the spirit of the reforms of Frederick II were of a completely different stamp from this most recent justice legislation with its uncontrollable power of uncooperative individual judges, with its sketchy, not sufficiently written up, and accordingly guarantee-less, representation, with its extravagance of superfluous forms, inserted half-judgements, temporary enforcements, and all the institutions which are anything but natural or rational, which make the task of making the judicious proceedings a very complicated and in itself unequal mechanical activity. The work seems strongly in the style of the chosen people; without inner logic and without style, I mean without the architectural style of a uniform character, it shows everywhere fissures and folds. It is a mosaic of all sorts of little stones, and in fact the children of Moses have the chief part in it. Not merely in the Parliament but also otherwise they have plagued us with the present-day descendants of that legislator of Sinai. But this profession of the Jews is valid only for the Jews and not for other peoples. And it leads to nothing where thunder and lightning do not help to frighten away the covetousnesses of the chosen people a little into the background. Where the Jews have the nerve to make laws for other peoples, there they worry essentially only about themselves and the monopoly desired for them, but manifest elsewhere similar characteristics as in science, art, and literature. Even here everything which they bring forward is formless, fragmented, distracted,

disorderly and illogical. The only logicity which can be found in any case in the Jewish arrangements is that of their own advantage. Everything else is broken up. But the naturally healthy and upright sense suffers most, no matter in what sections of the population it wishes to make itself valid. Frederick II of Prussia would have most liked to see the advocates entirely done away with; on the contrary, a century after his death the litigants themselves were pushed aside and the advocates became their effectively uncontrollable representatives. The representation of the proceedings guarantees under these circumstances no advantage, but brings only damages. The clichéd speech of the advocates gives an immediate impression of the state of affairs and is, with the exception of some formulas, deprived of every written record. Thus how the advocate has pleaded remains for ever unknown to the party, if the latter does not personally run after the advocate, which is moreover not easily done with them and is, in non-local trials, as a rule impractical. In addition, the advocates have become, according to the new charges, which one could call Jewish charges, enormously expensive. They are, however, not at all bound to the maintenance of these high charges but can genuinely Jewishly settle the trade with the party at a much higher level and, if the latter does not wish to fulfil their arbitrary demand, recommit the matter. Now, since the advocates' profession swarms with Jews, the chosen people will soon have the judicial representation entirely in their hand and set monopoly prices for it. Incidentally, even the justice of the judges has been made more expensive up to the fullest disproportionality and unreasonability. The legislating Jews have openly worked towards this as well, so that the advocates' charge lying close to their heart could be pushed up correspondingly highly and seem, in comparison to the real trial fees, not too enormous. The artifice, however, does not help. The public knows already to evaluate how expensive the new Jewish justice comes to be for it. Expensive and bad, that is, in spite of some later softenings of the price, the simple total judgement on the new trial legislation of the chosen Jewish Reich of the German nation.

I have taken into view especially the example of the civil trial ordinance; but the influence of the Jews and of the advocates has made itself valid in our legislation, especially that of the sixties and seventies, in every direction. The space is lacking for me here to characterize this evil through still more pieces of legislation than the ones already mentioned earlier. In general it can be said, however, that indeed the Liberal pretext of raising the independence and self-activity of the individual has always encouraged only such institutions by virtue of which the public

should fall victim to the Jewish exploitation, and the protection or, if one wishes, the guardianship of political authorities should be replaced actually with a representation by Jewish or Judaised elements. This is the goal of the legislative Jewish rule with which the German Reich has seen its first decade adorned in all internal affairs. Even in other legislations, as, for example, in the Austrian, something similar has been found to have been conducted on the part of the Jews in the same decade; yet I cannot go further into other states and peoples. The motive of the Jewish legislation among all the peoples is only one - the increase of power of the Jewry. Ideas of freedom are, for the Jew, only professional excuses. For him mere emancipation is only a stage towards mastery, to actual privileges and to sanctioned monopolies. No matter whether he assumes the appearance of freedom or gestures in a Conservative manner - always he calculates in the sense of the chosen advantage which he must make a profit of with one or the other party. The Jewish people thus conduct business with all parties, in that they are distributed among the same, just as they are scattered among all peoples. But they also ruin all parties, as all peoples, among whom they gain the upper hand in the long run, whether now internal or external politics be in question. Where ruin is anyway in sight, they accelerate it. Poland would not have fallen victim so quickly to its fate without the Jewish influence strong there. Where a nation shows symptoms of dissolution, there the Jews are immediately present to bore into the most rotten places. Similarly do they do with the estates and parties. No profession and no party which fell victim to Judaisation has still remained long in healthy life. To choose an example from the most immediate vicinity, the earlier so-called Progressive Party which was rebaptised in 1884 as the German Liberal Party and in 1893 as the Liberal Peoples' Party has always indeed been, in its Berlin centre, Jewish and become so increasingly. In Berlin, their elements are essentially nothing more than instruments of Jewish clique economy for the mastery of the communal affairs of the capital of the Reich.

With the judaisation of the German so-called Social Democracy I have more thoroughly dealt in the already mentioned 3rd. edition of my *Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (1879). At the beginning of the sixties, at the instigation of the American war and the accompanying cotton emergency among the workers, the stirring regarding their general situation had become for a time stronger and also had in view the establishment of an isolated Workers' Party on German soil. It could not proceed with the Schulzean appeasement efforts; but the Jew Lassalle, who rashly played as a counter-undertaker, however only bun-

gled the natural development of the affair. Through him, the movement, which would have developed otherwise freely and organically at first in the direction of workers' coalitions, was linked to a terminology of political playing and pushed into paths which, after the later complete judaisation of the affair on the part of the Marxists, demoralised the party and after the Socialist Law let it mature, in a contrary way, to a further flattening and fading, to an exclusive life of parliamentary playing, indeed transposed with elements of the Jewish bourgeoisie. The repugnance and disdain in the society against that which was called the Workers' Party rested indeed not only on the aversion which the actual propertied bourgeoisie cherished against stirrings for workers' independence. There are in society enough neutral elements who are not employers and do not have any direct battle to wage with the workers. But precisely these elements free of prejudice must have been repelled by the moral depravity of the unenthusiastic Jewish activity turned into a business in this so-called Social Democracy. Contempt had hereby to become the chief result and, without this contempt, even the infamous fall and disintegration of the entire tone-setting gang which followed the Socialist law would not have been possible.

It would mean piling up examples uselessly if one wished to characterize further the compromise-seeking misery of the so-called National Liberalism as a domain of the Jewish business. Here everything is all-too tangible. This group, strongly mixed with the professor element and even with other representatives of intellectual depravity and miseducation, was especially suited to being constituted from the start by Jews and led to the edge of complete bankruptcy. The old truth that the Jews always got a foothold where something is rotten because they do not indeed prevail against the strong and healthy, - this most reliable of all social and political truths is proved also in the so-called party or, rather, group. What the German intelligentsia thought it was can be related to the Jews in the double sense of the word. The harmony of professors and Jews is characteristic for both parts. Incidentally, the Jews also press industriously towards university professorships; for they know that there is in this sphere something corrupt to capitalise on. Ruin allures them here too, as everywhere. In turn, the professors make use of the Jews to let the rotten structure be displayed through bold advertisement as a most highly upright and strong one. They even flirt with the literary Jews and flatter them already so that the latter may, through their press and their journals, give to the little professorial authority the varnish which these people appointed to the lectern need very much indeed. The Jews for their part,

however, make a business once again through this habilitation in society. In this way they exploit for themselves not only the parties but also one of the most important branches of administration in which they become most harmful, namely that of higher education.

4. After the preceding it can be no wonder that not merely every community and every party, but in general every affair is ruined in which the Jews attain a disproportionately or indeed predominant influence. To name but one more social example, the matter of a better education and an independent existence of women also has fallen very visibly, on German soil, chiefly into the hands of Jewesses and, through this, been distracted from their more worthy goals. The question of women's rights or, expressed more comprehensively, the entire social question of the female sex has been transformed by the Jews into a business agitation of the lowest sort and has thereby, understandably, lost every nobler intellectual trait. The ungainly business dealing with which the Jewish element here, as everywhere, advances itself with the well-known noble audacity has not only frightened the better realm of women but also worked among those who entered with better talents into this activity partially corruptingly partly discouragingly. In fact it would also be the most extreme decay if that lack of conscience and shame which emerges already so offensively and irritatingly as Jewish audacity in the customary social intercourse indeed bore its fruits even in the world of women of German origin.

The socially harmful characteristics of the Jews can be observed in another direction as soon as, on the occasion of some scandalous affair, the weaker part - but the one in the right - is to be fully suppressed or, in general, has to take the side of a bad thing. We have had cases in which it indeed came to judicial judgements that advocates had let the papers entrusted to them by their clients get lost. In these cases which affected the public character of influential persons, precisely the Liberal press found mostly in the hands of the Jews has glossed over and defended the bad thing, let themselves be heard in favour of the stronger and sacrificed the weaker in the real sense of the word. Such services in the Jewish press are moreover also something quite understandable. The latter understands to cry it out at the top of its voice only when somewhere a fellow Jew has been seized. The solidarity in the Jewry extends so far as the common business. The Jew knows that his people conduct everywhere really only a single business. All things must serve one who is a Jew, no matter whether they are good or bad. But now since the bad are most profitable, the Jew lives off these where he finds them. The service of

bad things is a more lucrative domain than the fighting for real justice. By this is explained a number of events which are repeated all day in the press and in the conduct of the businesses of customary life. Everyman can observe them. To me the reading of a newspaper has become disgusting even in this aspect; for, one who reads the newspaper reports with knowledge of the internal gears of the press and of the conditions which are distorted must turn in disgust from these judaisations of the truth.

Even in my personal affairs, that is, however, on the occasion of the battle which was associated with my removal from Berlin University, I could perceive tangibly how many Jewish doctors, who were also litterateurs at the same time, had engaged the unions of professors against me and sought to degrade me before the public with falsehoods and criticisms as well as especially with the imputation of megalomania and persecution mania. Individuals in these camps were so maliciously involved that they were publicly dismissed, even if they were protected by the Jewish papers themselves in which they had written by the non-acceptance of every settlement. In another work *Robert Mayer, der Galilei des 19. Jahrhunderts*, I have more closely elucidated these and other little pieces with the naming of names and provided many facts also on individual newspapers of the most marked Jewishness. But it may be enough here to have reached, in the case of the social unfavorability of the Jews, from the sphere of internal politics to the fringes where the bad private services conduct their existence. Among the Swiss who go abroad, it is only a fraction which enters into contract service in the real sense of the word, even if it may be a question of government and party interests, thus indeed of the procedures in the parliamentary houses, or of the directors of lunatic asylums and medical reports which guarantee the families authoritative security on a mental illness diagnosed by them. In both fields, in the legislation as well as in the administration, in the public as well as in the private life, unprofessional services can be performed. One could now call such foreigners willing to do service, no matter whether they come from the Alps or not, rental Swiss. In the meanwhile, it is, in the case of the real Swiss people, as mentioned, only a fraction which comes into question; in the case of the Jews, however, the adorning epithet is to be given up; for, the rental Swiss cannot compete with them in sort, number and expansion. If one wished to speak of rental Jews, this would be badly set out. The Jew is what he signifies, even without further remark. He plays all roles and makes all businesses which bring him profit - that says enough and is true not merely in the petty but also in the great politics.

5. Where and when the national politics in any country is on the decline, the Jews are also capable of raising themselves up and of obtaining a decisive influence on the fate of the countries in question. This France and England chiefly teach us. Both western powers have lost face in the world. In the case of France, it has been a sudden turn through which its temporary helplessness became visible to all eyes. In England, it is more a sneaking evil through which the relative position of power of this Empire has gradually been reduced. It is a badly understood trade politics in which its new incapacity for dignity and action is manifest. Now, it is significant, as mentioned earlier, that in both countries Jews have repeatedly attained a primary role. In France, M. Gambetta,³⁰ under the symbol of an opportunistic semi-democracy, manoeuvred himself up, with the help of Crémieux³¹ and others of the Parisian Jewish association, from a Jewish advocate to an advocate of the fatherland. He had in this way, under the symbol of national defence, staged - in the real sense of the word - his Jewish aptitude for politics during the siege of Paris in the still unconquered parts of France. He worked with the war as if it were a matter of a piece of advertisement. He had made a lot of noise as on a theatrical stage with improvised soldiers and canons and let himself be glorified for this by the Jewish press, as if this new Moses needed only to strike with his Jewish stick to have armies emerge from the ground. But France has had to pay for the injuries of this decorative defence and such theatrical tricks with human life and money, and the consciousness of having to give so much wealth and blood for a theatrical strife had to finally become increasingly clear and burdensome even to the French. However, one sees how influential the Jews and the Jewish press are in France from the fact that precisely those through whom the national fiasco has been raised and stamped, nevertheless could become, and indeed at first behind the scenes, the rulers of France. In this way did

³⁰ Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), republican statesman who helped direct the defence of France during the Franco-German war of 1870-1871 and helped the democratisation and parliamentarisation of the country's politics. He served briefly as Premier of France from November 1881 to January 1882.

³¹ Isaac-Adolphe Crémieux (1796-1880), Jewish leader active the Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune (1871). He was the founder of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and served as its president from 1863 to 1880.

Gambetta become the chief director of the republican comedy which mocked all serious freedom and conjured away the national dignity under glittering phrases. The opportunism, or, in other words, the opportunistic politics for profit economies in relation to the obtaining of offices and influence is so very much something which confirms the unprincipled Jewish nature. This opportunism, which judges the favorable period according to the personal profitability of the political business, was then also used by that Gambetta in such a way that one could see through this Italian Jew who acted as a French patriot, if only one considered him simply as a business dealer. The support of the international Jewish association in Paris in the political management of France was undeniable; but the Louis empire, that is Napoleon III, had already economised very strongly with the Jews and especially with the Péreires! But even a decade after the fall of the Empire, the concealed Jewish direction and Jewish exploitation of France remained the chief signature, and true intransigents would be those who did not tolerate even the least transaction with the Jews and drove the latter out of the political rule of France.

As far as England is concerned, a lord was brought to its head with such a marked Jewish origin that he already characterised through his name the nature of the fact. It was, indeed, according to his real name, a 'lord of Israel' who not only ruled England's treasury but also ruled it as Prime Minister. His forefathers have in modern times chosen and borne the name of those of Israel, namely D'Israeli, in order to show themselves as good children of Israel. But he has preferred finally, as English Prime Minister, to substitute this all-too characteristic name with that of Lord Beaconsfield. But the matter remains the same. As far as the lord himself and his political aptitude are concerned, he had once tried it among the radicals, changed his political confessions diversely, and finally established among the Tories a striking business for his advancement. One of Jewish origin indeed as a Tory minister - that is the most certain sign that the English aristocracy must be still more on the decline than the remaining English society! A full-blooded Jew as leader of the full-blooded lords and of the entire aristocratic England, - there could not be a better decoration for the mixed and disgraceful condition of the British affairs. In fact, even the lord of Israel, whose name we wish to mention not in a half-Hebraical manner but quite bluntly, had then wanted to deal with the external politics of England according to the principles of his private financial undertaking. He has tried to take entire countries carefully through stock businesses whereby he set forth a special hereditary preference for the old Jewish home, Egypt. His ancestors

loved the gold and silver of the Egyptians; he, however, wished to surpass the administrative system of Moses and pocket the Egyptians themselves. These businesses for the English account could have been interpreted by many as success; but one who looks more closely recognizes that the novelist Disraeli, with or without an apostrophe, played - where he had strayed from the Jewish novel to the reality of politics of other peoples - only a subordinate role of copyist. His political haggling businesses may have arisen from the hereditary genius; but where he later had taken on the appearance of playing a politics of military prestige he was only an awkward and openly unfortunate imitator of what made an impression on him on the continent. He acted in this point as all Jews do who, accustomed from their beginnings to a rigid authority, require everywhere an authority and, as a result of the hereditary incapacity in judgement, fall as a rule under the influence of the next thing which the day brings. Naturally, the imitations which not merely the Lord of Israel but all lords of Israel indulged in went quite badly. They are a mixed and misformed sort and reflect bad as well as good models only weakly and in a distorted manner. Nevertheless, precisely this Disraeli comically championed in his writings an intellectual superiority of the Jews.

His novels are deliberate glorifications of the Jewish race and, at the same time, degradations of other peoples. He glorifies his Jewish race as that people whom alone among all the peoples the Lord God had deemed worthy of speaking with him when he gave them laws. The Jews are a natural aristocracy. The Nordic Germans, on the contrary, are called by him descendants of pirates, apparently so that these supposed pirates should not have to complain to the Jews of their hereditary and sanctified villainy. We supposed pirates however will have at least so much of the Normans, the empire-founding, left over to operate as Nordic men against the Asiatic Israelites. The former have always shown themselves to hold the reins where it was worth it in world-history. The lord of Israel is lord of England! That was a temporary forgetfulness of the Norman spirit. But the Germans would, however, indeed not like to forget, in the long run, their ancient forests in which they settled affairs with the Romans,³² to dutifully let Sinai and the Jewish blood rule. They have too much organic politics of action, and the politics of the Jews consists always only of one thing, namely of the advertisement for their people. This has revealed

³² Referring to the defeat of the Roman general, Varus, by Hermann the Cheruskan in the Battle of the Teutoburg forest in the first century A.D.

itself even in Messieurs Gambetta and Disraeli. The Liberal and radical newspapers among us supported, for example, the reactionary Jew Disraeli and against his Liberal opponent Gladstone. They therefore denied their own party complexion when they raised higher the Jewish interests - a very understandable result of the judaisation of this press. Even so did radical newspapers among us support most decisively the pseudo-Liberal Jew Gambetta and against the radical Intransigent, but not Jew-worshipping, Rochefort, in such a manner that the secret badness hissed up in them regarding the fact that their Gambetta idol, and with him the Jewry in France, should not be all important any longer. As incapable as the Jewish blood has proved itself in politics even from the start, it still understands the coarsest thing, namely base self-interest, and makes the Jewish interests valid over all party differences. The service among different parties is for its people only an exploitative business and a form of penetrating and nesting everywhere with the rule of the Jewry. To be sure, the civil war among the dear brothers in this diverse play-acting of the Jews is often a very comical play. The Jew above all things, and still again the Jew against the Jew - that is the fruit of the distraction and fragmentation of the hereditary mosaic and that is the result of that social and political unsuitability which has been enacted in the devouring of other peoples and in the division of their own race.

Chapter V

The way to the solution

1. One who understands logically, and indeed not merely in thought, but also in deed, will not lack the practical conclusions to be drawn from the determinations made upto now. The social emergence of the Jews in the most recent period is a fact illustrated in every aspect. Similarly illuminated is the hereditary incapacity and bad constitution of the Jewish nature as it is characterised already from the oldest religious documents onwards to the most recent science, art and politics. The social unsuitability or, in brief, the unsociability of the Jews is the chief effect which one must at first consider for a social and political solution of the Jewish question. This solution must be an international one; it cannot be restricted to a single cultured people. The hostility which the Jews have exercised from primeval times against the human race has also an international character. A certain people may preferentially make the start to force the Jews back into their limits, establish once again the balance disturbed by them and then take the further step for the liberation from them. Such national regulations must however take place among all important cultured peoples if it should have a complete success. From the side of the Jews indeed not merely the nationality of every people but humanity in general is threatened. That is felt and known not merely by the Germans, but even enlightened men of France have perceived that already in the previous century. Above all, one should emphasize Voltaire, whose judgement the Jews cannot however really repulse with the pretext that this great writer, who thought now incomparably more freely than the theatre litterateur and Goeze-criticising Lessing, was occupied with religious prejudices. And it was not in an occasional mockery but in a serious presentation of world-history where Voltaire concentrated his full

contempt of the Jewish race and his view of their future, which is expressed everywhere in his work. It was in his work on the morality and the mind of peoples³³ where, in the 104th chapter, he expressed himself very powerfully on the Jews. They would, he maintains there, once have the same fate as the gypsies. If the society perfected itself and the peoples took care of their own trade, the Jews would not be able to live any longer on our inattentiveness. The richer, he imagines, would condemn their superstition. In general, the Jews would, in a merging with the remaining peoples, disappear, and the lowest section would, like the gypsies, form a class with thieves.³⁴

"Form a class with thieves" - that is the phrase of the great enlightener of the 18th century on the real Jewish people and at the same time a counterpart to the Lessingian sort of Jewish Enlightenment. Moreover Voltaire had also, in one of his earliest writings, and not just after he had studied the Berliner Jews and gone to court with one of the same, that is, in his *Charles XII*,³⁵ expressed himself as an expert on Judaisation and its consequences. He had there, on the occasion of the description of the Polish situation, precisely declared on the vast number of Jews who suck up the country that, if this increase of the Jews progressed, nothing would finally remain but to chase them out of the country.³⁶ Voltaire was a

³³ *Essai sur les moeurs, et l'esprit des nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, 1769.

³⁴ The 104th chapter concludes in the following manner: "quand la société des hommes sera perfectionnée, quand chaque peuple fera le commerce par lui-même et ne partagera plus les fruits de son travail avec ces courtiers errants, alors le nombre des Juifs diminuera nécessairement. Les riches commencent parmi eux à mépriser leurs superstitions; elles ne seront plus que le partage d'un peuple sans arts et sans lois qui, ne trouvant plus à enrichir par notre négligence, ne pourra plus faire une société séparée, et qui n'entendant plus son ancien jargon corrompu, mêlé d'hébraïque et de syriaque, ignorant alors jusqu'à ses livres, se confondra avec la lie des autres peuples".

³⁵ *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*, 1731.

³⁶ "[les Juifs] y ont près de trois cent synagogues, e à force de multiplier ils en seront chassés comme ils l'ont été d'Espagne: ils achètent à vil prix les bleds, les bestiaux, les denrées du pays, les trafiquent à Dantzick et en Allemagne, et vendent chèrement aux nobles de quoi satisfaire l'espèce de luxe qu'ils connaissent et qu'ils aiment. Ainsi ce pays, arrosé de plus

universal mind who saw through the Lessing inflated by the Jews not only in matters of the Enlightenment but in knowledge and talents. But even he did not yet reckon sufficiently with race as such but expected from the removal of the superstition among the wealthy an absorption of this stratum into the remaining society. Still, it must be esteemed highly of him that he, regardless of his overvaluation of the scope of religious intellectual illumination, nevertheless was deeply convinced of the necessity that the Jewish race with its influence has to disappear in some way or the other from the realm of the life of the modern peoples.

Even in the France of the present, and indeed among the most free-thinking, and politically and literarily most independent men there are not lacking those who are experts on the Jews. An outstanding example is Henri Rochefort³⁷ who died in 1913, who in his novel *The Depraved* (*Les Dépravés*, Geneva, 1875) set forth clearly enough what sort of role the Jews play in the corruption of the French society. In this really ethos-describing book of the man who proved with his cutting style, in the midst of imitations, that French prose is even today capable of something - in this description of the private intrigues and corruption conducted to the most extreme villainy, the soul of all evil which is set in action and used is a Jew and his family. This Jew is the fully conscious element which pleases itself in its own baseness and in the stirring up of foreign baseness for the exploitation of all occasions and situations at the cost of innocence, makes himself rich and penetrates successfully into a higher social sphere against its will. In him something of the modern Jewish type is better encountered than in the Shakespearean Shylock with whom he coincides only in a single trait, that is, in the hereditary cruelty and hardness. He is the tenacious representative and user of depravity - tenacious in the inhuman harshness with which he exploits his enmity against the better human race. He is a figure thoroughly contrary to humanity, and in this point Rochefort has with his description of contemporary

belles rivières, rest pauvre, en mines de sel, et couvert de moissons, rest pauvre malgré son abondance, parce que le peuple est esclave, et que la noblesse est fière et oisive".

³⁷ Victor-Henri, Marquis de Rochefort-Lucay (1831-1913), polemical journalist under the Second Empire and the Third Republic, who first supported the extreme Left and then the extreme Right, especially during the Dreyfus affair.

mores touched on the truth not less than a Voltaire with his summary historical judgement.

Such a sort of thing is still far from striking out from a mere theory and a mere theoretical judgement into a practical activity. Judgements must be not merely agreed to but also carried out. In this aspect the Jewish question culminates in: What is the goal of the action and what means stand at its disposal? At first we wish to remove one more still current objection which is directed against goal and means. This objection is supported on a false idea of tolerance which one has got accustomed to considering as a sort of mercy with regard to those who do not cherish a definite superstition or are free of all superstition. According to this, Christianity, for example, should tolerate religious Jewry and religious Turks, or vice-versa, the Turks should tolerate the Christians where they have the greater power. Finally, the views of people who are nothing but atheists or nothing but materialists, thus represent the pure denial of religion but have nothing better to show instead of religion, can most mercifully run together and in this way tolerance be apparently all-sided and complete. I say apparently; for, in fact, this tolerance brew is an extremely adulterated drink. If the Turk should really tolerate the Christian, he must first abolish his religion; for, the latter spurs him to destroy the unbelieving, that is, especially the Christians. If there were somewhere still a place where the Jews were predominant with their population and formed the ruling religion, the case would be a similar one to that of the Turks. They could be seriously tolerant only when they cut off the chief nerve of their religion and herewith abolished it in general. This nerve is, as I recall once again, the chosenness for the exploitation of all peoples or, in short, the enmity against the human race. A religion contrary to humanity cannot be tolerant; it can only injure and suppress. For example, Mohammedanism and, much more, Judaism must suppress or be suppressed, there is no third possibility. In conditions of inertia and dissolution, or in decay, the religions may, to be sure, tolerate one another like corpses lying beside one another which do not also rise against one another. They could then not persecute and suppress; but they do not need it either. The lifeless has no need to stir itself up because it is free of all instincts. The tolerance of apathy and decay is sufficiently explicable from this. Of this sort is also most religious tolerance such as it has been understood for a century. Only a few components therein belong in fact to a real humanity, that is to the striving for a universalisation of a better mankind.

In the mouth of the Jews the word tolerance means completely only that one should let the Jews be protected. The reciprocity is only pretence and appearance. The Jews do not think of removing from their religion and their ritual the improprieties most contrary to humanity and hostile to the nations. They demand tolerance for their religious bodies when these have intolerance as their original principle. In addition, the social toleration of opinion of the enlightened Jews refers always only to their Lord God. They think it is fair to tolerate the one who discards the specifically Christian Trinity and undermines Christianity insofar as it is not Judaism. In this point they are indeed liberal and enlightened, but when it comes to the Lord of Israel Himself, then the artificial, not to say deceptive, appearance of tolerance stops even on the side of the enlightened. And it is really only a monopoly for the Jews if, in the institutions of the state, religion is vaporized into a general and colourless belief in God. Precisely under this roof they are able to hide their entire religion. For example, the reduced formula of the oath, in which the all-knowing and almighty God alone has survived, and in which every Christian or indeed confessional postscript is lacking, belongs here. For those who do not believe in religion all the formulas of oath upto now are, in general, nothing that could bind their conscience. For the believers, however, it is, in turn, only the fully definite confession which obliges them appropriately. One exempts them from nine-tenths of their entire religion if one offers them such a barren formula. The Jews however do not excuse themselves of anything through such a formula and also bind themselves in their conscience through it to nothing; for, the specifically Jewish God is indeed something else and is moreover missing in the Jewish oath ritual with its Rabbinical lecture and the like. In the performance or administering of oaths, as parties or witnesses or as judges, the Jews accordingly draw from the formula of oath directed to mere belief in God, and hereby faded, once again the chosen advantage. They maintain under this scheme their entry into law and into the community of the remaining society without being seriously obliged inwardly. The threatening external punishment does not make the oath, but, on the contrary, the oath has brought along with it the level of the punishment through its religious essence. With the indifferently tolerant formula of oath, therefore, one has come down to a suitable null of conscience. Naturally, from my standpoint, which is free of every traditional religion, I do not reckon in general any longer with such an oath of conscience which is based on religion. However, I cannot characterise here, incidentally, that means of binding of conscience which has to substitute the religious oath of the old

style. The substitute of religion by something spiritual, better and more powerful is the prerequisite. If the latter is fulfilled, the apathetic, conviction-less tolerance however is replaced by a healthy and genuine tolerance. The humane reciprocity will consist in living in peace insofar as the nobler humanity comes together in the good. For the rest, however, precisely battle and destruction will emerge so much more energetically against the inhuman.

We have however accommodated ourselves previously to the Jewish standpoint which likes, for good reasons, to appeal to religious tolerance where, not the latter, but the tolerance with regard to race is in question. The two sorts of tolerance have an infinitely different meaning. In the case of the race, one tolerates the entire man; with the religion, only a dogma of the same. To demand tolerance towards a race of morally bad and of unsocial characteristics hostile to the remaining human race means to presume thousand times more than tolerating in confession and ritual a religion which consists in mere articles of faith and can be accepted or laid aside. The Jews always act as if it were, in the case of their toleration, a matter of a confession, such as the Catholic or Evangelical, which can be peculiar to the most diverse modern racial groups. At present, in general, it is a question mostly not at all of the Jewish religion but of the entire moral, social and economic activity of the Jewish tribe and whether one has to tolerate this. But even when the religion comes into question, the case will be one quite different from that of a confessional difference within the Germanic, Italic, and Slavic peoples. The Jewish religion is a racial religion, as the Jewish ethics is a racial ethics. It cannot be transferred to the other tribes and it would be a very comical idea to think of modern peoples as believers in the Jewish religion. The Jewish religion is so closely grown with the race that it forms indeed a political component of their most peculiar interests. The tolerance towards it is therefore not merely a religious one but becomes involuntarily much more, and here lies the point where one has to guard from making even the smallest concession.

2. According to what has been said previously on religious tolerance and especially on the apathetic form of the same, the religious bodies of the Jews do not really have a claim on the privileges and the rights of safety which they have taken possession of as an appendage, so to speak, of Christianity. The Christian Church has accepted the old Testament and therewith also the Jews, even if only in a subordinate position. To this situation do the Jewish bodies owe the fact that they have been allowed to set up in the Christian countries a religion of second rank, as it were,

and that they have finally become participant in the privileged protection through penal law, similar to the Christian organisations. It would be quite different with them if they were considered and treated not from the grace of the Christian tradition, in spite of their deed against Christ, but still as the people to whom the mother of the Saviour belonged and whose religious fate had prepared the new Church. The Christian articles of faith have benefited the Jews more than everybody else. With their fleeting understanding they do not perceive however that, with their present-day conduct towards the Christian people, they saw off the bough on which they have so long sat. For this reason even this work is to be granted to them. They see already today more powerful elements enter the lists than the spirit of the Middle Ages had at its disposal with all its popular uprisings and persecutions. It is the individualities of the peoples and even the universal humanity which stirs against them. The nations are conscious of their self injured by the Jews and the nobler human mind begins to feel itself in full opposition to Judaism. It would be foolish here to wish to overlook the religion and the religious bodies. The religion is a fruit of the race, and will therefore be treated as such also from the point of view of race and culture. Religion embodies not mere ideas of the imagination but also feelings and principles. Religion is a sanctification of morals or of contradictions of morality; it is a sanctification of the racial nature. The Jewish religion is therefore a sanctification of the Jewish nature. One should guard from treating it as a matter of indifference.

It is however not merely the content of the Jewish religion which comes practically into question. The religious bodies of the Jews are political forms. They are a point of unification and serve as a support for everything which interests the Jews in their life among the peoples in any way. At first they are the cadres for the religious Jews. But the merely racial Jews are in turn associated with the latter; for, the narrow social intercourse of Jewish blood is also restricted almost as a rule to Jewish blood, be it now full blood or half blood. In this way, the social chain twines together. The Jew always recommends the Jew in the businesses. This pure association of interests indeed does not exclude the most vicious betrayal, but is strong enough to maintain a so to speak common racial business in reciprocity. If, now, the religious bodies were not present with their political privileges, the kernel of the organisation would fall herewith. The social association would indeed be able, as things stand - by virtue of their mastery of the press and by virtue of their nesting within trade - to continue to exist at the moment, but cannot maintain

itself in the long run. The demi-monde of the Jewry has a support only in the fact that, next to it, a so to speak unalloyed Jewish world exists in the religious bodies. An *Alliance israélite*, such as is active centralised in Paris for the Jewish world, is based on religion. Such an international Jewish association has the privilege of being, under the sign of religion, actually a political union. What is denied to the workers the Jews have as a privilege. They form a Jewish International, wag their tails at diplomatic congresses, mix themselves, for example, in the Romanian state affairs - everything as if it were a matter of religion. But, in Romania, it is not a matter of a religious cult, but of state citizenly- and social privileges of foreigners of a very material nature. The foreigners, i.e. the Jews, wish there to force the state and society and to become, from house servants, lords of the house. They wish to take into possession the country and the provinces which, upto now, one let them pass through. They wish to acquire the right to profit from landed property in order finally to distraint and drive out their hosts to whom they have lent and on whom they have practiced usury businesses. That is the entire Romanian Jewish question and there an Israelite world association from Paris could connect a political and social propaganda to the religion and have the insolence to wish to exercise pressure on the European diplomatic congresses and governments. Here the Jewish religion has revealed itself for what it is. It is fully international-political and wishes therefore to be treated as such. The religious bodies of the Jews are accordingly to be taken as what they are, that is, as political structures. Theocracy brings this also with itself, as has been shown earlier. In theocracy, religion is politics, and the Jewish system, insofar as it still has control over itself today, stirs by means of its religious bodies increasingly more theocratically.

Following this, there are two reasons for not letting tolerance with regard to the religious bodies of the Jews become contradictory. First, no religious cult can make a claim to universal human tolerance insofar as it itself is contrary to humanity. Secondly, the Jewish corporations are political structures and must therefore, even if one treats them very mercifully, be subjected at least to the universal law of association. This demand is, however, only a preliminary minimum. It would indeed be a consequence of equality. The principle of bringing equality to validity politically as well as socially is nothing further than a principle of being true and just. *But*, to bring the essentially unequal to validity as equal is simply a lie and an injustice. It is therefore more than justice if the Jewry opposed to the peoples are treated on the same footing. They do not form with the remaining peoples any peaceful community, but lead a continu-

ously exploitative battle against the same. Moreover, the traditional characteristics of the Jews stand deep below those of our cultured peoples and the equality-based community hereby becomes an injustice and injury to the better nations and the better society. One does not perceive why the religious bodies of the Jews, with their central organ in Paris, should today still have privileges to celebrate Haman festivals in which the words: "Strike Haman dead", i.e. vanquish everything which does not wish to tolerate the Jewish rule, goes through every glib tongue. I am really no friend of useless police and guardianship, but I would, even in the freest communal system, so long as I had to tolerate the Jews in general, relegate the Jewish cult to the principles of a universal law of association and, according to this, permit nothing contrary to the peoples therein. If, however, it would not wish or be able to give up its oppositions to the peoples and to humanity - the entire cult should nevertheless disappear now. This would not yet be the smallest offence against true tolerance; for, the toleration of intolerance strikes the principle of tolerance itself in its face. On the contrary, I would consider it as a duty for the guaranteeing of reciprocal tolerance to expel every cult which cultivates elements which do not agree with free human community and the independence of peoples. The reviewing of the cults in this sense is a preliminary minimum which the society has to demand, and the nation can secure, even with political pressure. Pressure is here only the repulsion of an active injustice.

3. As far I know, the idea expressed in my scientific works of a political and social toleration which has to form itself like the religious is a new one and one peculiar to me. But even because I have set up this idea as an ideal of the next generations and centuries, I am so much more justified in demonstrating the essence of genuine tolerance in the answering of the Jewish question. The concepts of the people, in whose heads a total chaos of miseducation and misinstruction conducts its mischief, are, to be sure, so basically jolted against one another and so dispersed that all sorts of reflections of political and social madness are represented in their little brains by caricatures. The growing nonsense is however not the most dangerous, but rather the philistine traces of the same which are emitted in the dull heads and languid hearts are the universally harmful. Now, to this belong also the perversities through which the current ideas of tolerance find themselves transformed into something contradictory and intolerable. One must, in order to get at these follies, recall the simplest thing. Nobody who collects his thoughts will demand tolerance towards crime. But now there lies another principle only one step further. One

who is tolerant towards the markedly bad suppresses the good. One who tolerates immorality lets it have free play for the suppression of good morals. Only where one would have no indication, no judgement and no measure for good and evil would tolerance of the uncritical sort have a meaning. On this standpoint does the customary religious tolerance stand if it lets the realm of popular imaginations persist in pure superstition. The untruths are here tolerant to one another because one has no advantage over the other. From the standpoint of the higher insight, they are all just games of the imagination. This sort of tolerance becomes a pact of the educated wherever and whenever the institutions of the religions do not find belief any longer among the standard-setting classes and elements. The latter,³⁸ however, persists more or less in the crudest strata of the society; but it does not come to a war of one untruth against the other partly because the priests themselves have a share in their education, partly because they must be serviceable to the enlightened society. This variety of tolerance is however only a half-hearted one; for, it belongs to a higher educated class, and affects the real people only from outside and has in general no positive ground. It is rooted only in the negative, and does not attain even to a powerful and public denial, but only to an apathy with regard to the crass superstition which is, on the one hand, condemned, and, on the other, supported among the masses by non-interference or, indeed, hypocritically.

In the political and social field, the characterised sort of tolerance can gain ground to a lesser degree. The institutions here do not reach into the other world, and the interests of mastery and exploitation are here actually the standard-setting chief matter. Political and social tolerance is therefore a far more difficult problem. It presupposes a political and social insight which sees through the foolishnesses. In addition, however, it demands also the goodwill of living in peace, of abstaining from useless persecutions, and of cultivating battle and war, however, only as a means and not as a goal. Non-interference in the political field and the political *laisser-faire*, so to speak, through which alone the economic *laisser-aller* can be rendered harmless, has been characterised already by me in other writings as a new and the sole logical principle of freedom; for it leads to organisation. From this standpoint one does not become intolerant but reaches on the contrary an attitude of humanity and culture through which genuine humanity is more promoted and the erroneous is

³⁸ i.e. belief.

more lastingly taken care of than through the imperfect sort of tolerance as it is formed (but even this sufficiently weakly) in matters of mere religion. The insight into justice into the better humanity is here decisive. Only the scepticism of corruption can act as if there were no difference and no measure for right and evil. Not merely mathematics and physics point to absolutely sure principles. Even in morals and law there is something firm. Black and white can always be differentiated; but, to be sure, the people do not always wish it and then seek refuge behind the deceptive objection that it is a matter of viewpoint. If someone finds black, that is subjective, and the opposite viewpoint that black is white must not only be tolerated but must indeed be valid as objective when it emerges from a recognized authority. According to this, the fine chosenness of the Jewish tribe above all peoples must be tolerated not merely as a viewpoint but accepted as infallibly proved; for, the authority of the ancient Jewish writings, and especially of the Old Testament, says that already thousands of years ago. But we have a more reliable source of truth than the assurances of the ancient Jewish presumption and the great benightedness of this limited little tribe. We permit ourselves to test human types and national characters on their value; and physiology or, in general, biology, which however wishes to be natural science, is not yet by far so secure in its judgements on organic functions, on humours, blood, nerves and muscles, as the observer is when he determines the worth of individual persons and entire peoples according to their conducts. We have indeed an artistic judgement in relation to that sort of art which works in flesh and blood. The noble and coarse is recognized not merely in formed marble blocks. The excellences and failures in the forms of Nature do not really elude us. Thus we have also a measure for the worth of peoples. And we can fortunately differentiate not merely between beast and man but also between man and man. So we do not have to worry about the norms of political and social tolerance. Even in mathematics there is a large scope for tolerance - that is, where the theories end up in an involved, confused, undeniably cloudy and temporarily uncontrollable manner. But, for that reason, there is still for the genuine sense a cadre of firm principles whose opposites are not tolerated. Similarly must it be now with law and ethics, if one only wishes it, and a universal displacement of healthy concepts does not become epidemic among the peoples. One cannot argue, to be sure, with the intellectual and mental illnesses of the peoples; there is only downfall or else representation by peoples who are still in their senses and capable of organisation. The latter then organize in the real sense of the word. But

I speak here only of the healthy or half-healthy human group and not of those who are irresponsible. I presuppose here not general corruption but also some measure of natural self-feeling and intelligence as well as the determination to use the understanding and the heart. On this basis, political and social tolerance is possible without enervation and apathy, and here even positive principles are produced with which the better order can work.

In the first place now, with regard to the Jews, the general principle must gain validity that every social or national social group has its special right in itself and therefore cannot be required to embrace with its political bands everything which pleases to nest among its elements. Every political union, whether it is called the state or not, is like every association a positive creation. If one traces back the creation of the communal system in history one finds everywhere that a natural connection forms the foundation of all communities, but that these communities have been developed by conscious association- or even subjection-activities. In this way, it is certain actions, contracts, and concessions through which even the modern commercial society has received its form. The Jews were at first permitted only to trade. They were tolerated and protected foreigners. They were only guests at the table of existing national communities. Now one cannot demand from any union and any corporate body that all and sundry must be accepted without difference. I have, in my Socialitarian sketch of economic communes with the fullest freedom of movement, thus with regard to an ideal picture of the noblest humanity, freedom, and efficiency, as I have characterised it in brief in my national economic writings, energetically pointed out that a group must have the right to make the, in itself and fundamentally, free acceptance dependent on racial acceptability. In fact, it is a contradiction to wish to force a free association for political socialisation with elements who are indeed men, to be sure, but who do not suit that association. The universal rights of man could, extended ideally, at most produce a narrow community. Nobody should be excluded from humanity and human rights but one who treads on it himself; but every special body has its narrow conditions, and even the entire political communal system is a corporate body, even if very comprehensive. Thus therefore the politically bound could simply say: We who are united among ourselves do not accept such and such elements; we let them at most live and trade among us under definitely apportioned rights. Through such a concession arises now a certain standardized legal condition, perhaps indeed a semi-citizenship. But it is not at all self-explanatory that all new-comers who have established

themselves in this way in the country have to claim a membership or indeed a full membership in the political association. If one applies this to the Jews, it is proved that already the expression 'emancipation' is a false one. No freeing from a slave condition but the positive acceptance of non-Jews is thereby in question. In view of the unsociability and of the injury which the introduction of the Jewry into the communal system brings with it, a complete distancing from the start would have been justified. So much more so, however, was the mere imposition of the conditions under which the Jews may be tolerated. But to conclude from this tolerance a claim to full acceptance is nothing further than Jewish insolence and may be left to the political Jewish logic or rather the Jewish sophistry.

This is the rational derivation of the condition in which we find ourselves as foreigners to the Jews. Historically, however, it was a medieval mistake to accept them in general. It was a softening of this mistake to carry out the acceptance merely with limited rights. Nevertheless, we suffer as a result of that first mistake of a bit of the Middle Ages, as it were. The Jews are a piece of inheritance which has come into the modern age according to medieval principles. If now the Jews themselves speak of medieval relics and wish to remove these, one must reply to them that they themselves are such a relic. In addition, however, there is the fact that even the modern principles do not bring with them toleration and withdrawal of limitations. If the Jesuits are not tolerated, the Jews need to be much less so; for, of the two evils, the Jews are the worse. Moreover, the Jesuits are the lesser evil which they represent not so by nature, whereas the Jews bear and propagate their nature - which is destructive of the remaining peoples - in their flesh and blood. Regulations against the Jews are therefore declared in a stronger way than against Jesuitism. The latter is a symbol of corporate bodily precepts which the men who temporarily serve it can lay aside. But Judaism cannot be removed otherwise than with the Jews themselves. Tolerance which extends to the persons would accept the bad thing itself with them. There remains therefore, even disregarding that rational derivation, already from plainly historical reasons and the most recent analogies, that tolerance with regard to the Jews itself is a deceptive and badly constructed Jewish concept if, in general, the inner freedom of the modern peoples should continue to be guaranteed.

4. The Jews have conducted base hypocrisy with human rights and equality. Freedom and equality have served only as a mask for them

No racial group has more aptitude for the opposite of all equality than the Jews who, from the beginning, have given themselves out as the most God-willed aristocracy of mankind. Their entire Messianism is the incarnated God-willed self-interest which should take the earth in its possession and make all the peoples serviceable to it. One therefore may set against the insolence of the Jewish tribe and of the "slave form of religion" discovered by it, which is its politics, the rights of man and the right of nations as well as, in general, the natural principles of all justice.

The right of the Jews must be oriented according to the standard of their racial constitution. With the familiar noble insolence the Jews, as mentioned, give themselves out to be the "aristocracy of Nature".³⁹ If lack of shame could ennoble, then, to be sure, this is correct. But then we must let other people permit us to suppose - as for thousands of years, so also now - the opposite and consider the Jews as one of the lowest and most misformed products of Nature. Their race has been, for thousands of years, the chosen incarnated self-interest and it could live only under constant nuisance to other peoples. The Egyptians were the first sacrifice of these annoyances and plagues. The Jews therefore, according to experience, have produced a Jewish question for many thousands of years everywhere that they arrived. Egypt had to solve the first Jewish question and had to lose in this solution much gold and silver. A solution of the Jewish question similar to the Egyptian however would be still worse established among the modern peoples. And I do not believe that the Jews, if they can be really unified in a field, whether it be now a Jewish colony in Palestine or another settlement, would be hindered from the renewal of their compulsive nomadism. Nomadism is their world-historical condition of life. Without this, and alone with one another, they would consume each other, since the food of other peoples would be lacking to them. Something like a confined Jewish state therefore would mean the destruction of the Jews by the Jews. They would perish as a state from their own enjoyment of reciprocal unsociability once again, as already once before, or would rather, in order to change it for a time, seek under all circumstances once again means to expeditions among other peoples and nomadising dispersal. They, who advocate the battle for life in its most corrupt and morally contradictory sense and the destruction of their opponents in an uninhibited way, would prefer to the sure

³⁹ This was especially the presumption of Benjamin Disraeli in his novelistic description of the Jews; cf. p.148 above.

and rapid downfall through themselves even the most unfavorable limitations, with the least rights, of foreigners. The old play of the universal peddler status of the Jews would be renewed.

But how does one, then, come in general to wanting to care for an independent Jewry? Surely, not by demanding from the modern peoples the duty to bear a concern positively for the world-historical Jewish fate! One wishes the Jews to be away and does not know where they should go, - that is the fundamental matter. But one goes about it rather in the wrong way here if one wishes to help the Jews, bankrupt in their state for centuries, to a new establishment. That would mean to force back world-history several centuries and let the game begin once again from the beginning. As regards a Jewish state, the judgement of history is already completed and it can be a question now only of a second bankruptcy of the Jewry, that is, of that in the dispersal. The Jews will not last among the modern peoples, as much as they also flatter themselves in their great benightedness of still burying all the nations. The more real freedom of nations arises, so much less will the Jews endure. The lack of freedom of the nations was that by virtue of which the doors were most easily opened to the Jewish race. The Jews were let in - in return for protective monies and similar lasting financial tributes - by princes and lords against whom stood only 'subjects' and not 'citizens'. What did the great and small lords care that the country and people was judaised! There was indeed money, and the patient subjects could watch in a most subjectly manner how they dealt with the noble guests. If they had been able to stir as state-citizens in their own name, they would have thought about such an immigration. And if the Jews were, for example, among the Germans only so-called house servants of the German Reich and Kaiser, and in this way a piece of living inventory, this inventory of Jews became that harmful endowment which manifests itself as so much less tolerable the more freely the political conditions develop. The independent state-citizen will stir against that which the 'subject' once had to allow to happen to him in terms of dislikable society. If the popular forces are first appropriately emancipated in their national consciousness, it is impossible that they and the Jews would remain on the same soil. The 'where to' is the personal matter of the Jews. For the time being, however, according to practical principles, the case of eliminating entire Jewish groups participant in it can occur at most in great collective crime, as in collective treason. This, however, would produce no internment but a real deportation. At first therefore, as a rule, there are in question only measures

which can be carried out in the realm of the territories of the modern peoples and mostly on that soil on which the Jews are found at any time.

5. In the meanwhile, as regards the required *modus vivendi*, no lasting coexistence with the Jews is possible on the basis of equality because the tribe in question stands by nature on an unequal and indeed considerably low level of aptitude and morality. Here even no spiritual principle can help; for, the mistake is of a physiological sort and lies in the natural character itself. One could not reckon with Lamarckian transformations of animal species, even if this better piece of zoological metamorphosis magic were true. The time-periods of the changes are too long. The Jews have remained for historical millennia the same in their basic character. No social system and no change of society would eliminate this chief evil. The Jewish self-interest would only assume other forms. Already today it exploits Socialism and the workers following the judaised Social Democracy for Jewish interests, and if the Social Democratic Jews indeed came to their Communistic jubilee year and therewith to the state treasuries, they would already be able to set up their people and expound Communism. The property of the peoples would, as a result of this Communism, become Jewish common property. But I do not wish to repeat here what I have demonstrated in the 3rd. edition of my *History of National Economy and Socialism*. Here, it is only essential not to let oneself err on the unimprovability of the racial nature. The acquisitive powers of capital are really a trifle in relation to that which the Jewish way brings about. If there were also no bourgeoisie, the Jewry, which now finds its businesses favored by the forms of the propertied class, would go on the hundred other ways on which it is at home and, in addition, strike further new ways which lead to more than a mere alternative. It is not the forms by virtue of which the self-interest exists, but on the contrary the self-interest corrupts the content of all social forms and mixes itself into every system. Socialism in the sense upto now is a too mischievous vagueness and much too powerless to have grown up to the Jewish question. With the capitalists, against whom the limited Socialism and Communism run, the Jews will not yet disappear. The Jew as capitalist is only one of the figures in which the social role of the Jewry is played out. The Jewish aspect therein is not the real effect of capital, which is indeed found even among persons of every other nation. The cardinal point around which everything rotates is the truth that it is personal characteristics and not harmful property which make the Jew a Jew and the exploiter an exploiter. Property in itself does not bring evil with it, but indeed baseness often enough the accumulation of unjust

property. Only one who thinks of even those simple truths can let the right light fall on the rise of Jewish wealth. Under all circumstances, therefore, must we take as a basis the Jewish nature as unchangeable in the main.

The Jews are not merely hardly bearable for others but also for themselves and among themselves. The individual is more or less a burden to himself with his own nature; the full inner peace remains unknown to the Jew. He feels himself continuously not merely in contradiction with the better humanity but also with himself. Where the inner disharmony does not reveal itself to him, there the communication with his similars helps and where he does not hereby get to enjoy the characteristics of his own image, there he must at least experience once again the recollection of it in every intercourse with other peoples. In this way, the natural disharmony with the human race is strengthened in the Jew to a historically swollen baseness which powerfully surpasses his natural endowment. But now every unjust baseness turns its sting inwardly against the base person himself. The Jewish mind - if one in general may use the noble German expression 'mind'⁴⁰ - finds itself in total emptiness and did not come, for example, even in the case of Spinoza to an appropriate unity with itself. The 'eternal Jew' who cannot look up to the higher and nobler and conducts himself in baseness through the history of the world is the entire people itself, burdened with the curse of Nature to overrun all other peoples and themselves not attain peace at the same time. The redemption of the Jews from themselves has been attempted world-historically through their reformer Christ by means of a spiritual principle, but failed. The thundering of the earlier prophets who had called more sorrow upon the Jews than all despisers of Jews taken together had not brought about anything. The prophets were partly murdered by the Jews. The last great reformer sought the means of redemption in the self-crucifixion of the Jewish pleasures and desires and was, for that reason, himself murdered on the cross by the Jews. Knowing well that the Jewish nature cannot be improved without destroying them, he preached a hostile attitude against the instincts and demanded a sort of self-scourging of Nature while he prescribed paradoxes like the love of one's enemy. Such a sort of thing can be understood only if the intention is to crucify the flesh. But it was appropriate only with regard to the bad Jewish nature. Other peoples who are of better flesh and blood require no

⁴⁰ Gemüth.

self-crucifixion of their nature with glaring contradictions of Nature. But for the Jewish nature such a prescription is only too understandable. However, the Jews have rejected this spiritual way with scorn. The crucifixion of the Jewish flesh, and in the spiritual sense, has not once been attempted by themselves. What remains therefore than that other peoples set about to do - with other than spiritual means -, with regard to them, what their own reformer could not do, that is, redeem the world basically from all Jewish life. In order to attain this goal, to which the way has different stations, sustained restrictions must at first, and at the very first station, be undertaken through which it is made impossible for the Jews to discharge their bad nature all too unhindered on the better peoples.

The means therefore must be political, scientific and social. Even a more powerful spiritual principle than religions would not, as a merely intellectual power, change the Jewish race considerably for the better. On the contrary, the acceptance of the Jews would also become injurious to the best intellectual community. For this reason we should not think in any single direction of an *improvement* of the Jewry but must reckon with it politically and socially as with something essentially irredeemable. One, however, who does not wish to give up the ideas of improvement may try it by letting the Jew himself improve himself. The latter will not try it at all. In spite of all the painful feeling of their unrest, they are also at the same time possessed too strongly by their great benightedness not to want to proliferate in their fine nature to the end of time. They remain even in their entirety a single eternal Jew who persists in his contempt of all nobler elements by virtue of his inherited nature. For that reason there is against them only one policy, namely that of external limitation, internment, and exclusion.

It would be a mistake to expect the immediately desirable check of the already achieved Jewish power from purely social means. The social initiative has produced the modern renewal of the Jewish question and can disseminate even further a true explanation, that is, of the characteristics of the Jewish race, and in this way prevent many injuries, and set up a defence against the Jewish influence. It can determine the individual in his activities; but it cannot also lend to the individual at the same time the power to conduct effective resistance. The Jews have, with their money and with their intriguing, by virtue of which they have smuggled themselves into all social channels, got, already before their so-called emancipation, a number of the strings of social life into their hands. Later, they have even absolutely flooded the social and public positions,

as many as there were, and nested themselves in the state and municipality in all corners. Indeed they have brought it in some institutions to an actual predominance. How then should the individual, with the best will of emancipating himself from the Jews, free himself from such political and social bonds? Here the society has to help itself not merely in its individual members as a society, but directly as a state through legislation and administration. For example, the most intolerable of all, that indeed Jews exercise functions of mastery over members of modern peoples through the assumption of superior offices cannot be eliminated or hindered publicly through the mere initiative of the society. The first leading principle in the policy of the limitation of the Jews however must be to form the Jewish rights in such a way that no racial Jew exercises judicial, administrative, or otherwise authoritative functions over a German, Frenchman, Englishman, Russian, etc. In public elections, indeed, the mere society can already, directly and without the intervention of the state, take care to a certain degree that Jews are not elected; but partly this realm of elections does not suffice to effectively eliminate the political influence of the Jews and partly the complete carrying out of such an actual disenfranchisement already presupposes an all-extensive propaganda against the Jews. If the latter is however present, then more can be done and one does not need to demand of society that it stay alert in order to secure its matters in every election against accidental neglect or surprise attacks. It would also be deplorable to wish to keep the offices free of Jews through legislation and yet to let the Jews fundamentally rule in the legislation. Such an illogicality should not occur even in other directions. It is therefore appropriate that the society act as a state everywhere that it can, if thereby it may reach the goal in the quickest way.

How the means in the different directions may form themselves one sees best in the most immediate and pressing needs. In the following last chapter, the immediate means, but with a view to the final goals at the same time, will be declared in the entire range of political, economic, and social fields. Here one may recall only a chief principle that is as historical as rational, which one should not lose from sight on the way to the only complete solution of the Jewish question. The earlier centuries have treated the Jews correctly as a human class of exceptional character, but incorrectly as such more from the aspect of religion than from the aspect of race. Today, the Jewish religion can serve essentially only as a partial identification sign of the race. But as regards the principle of limitation of earlier centuries, it is in itself fully correct. The Jews remained indeed, in spite of the same, an evil but however a lesser one than if one had left

them rule in an unrestricted manner. They have become fully unbearable for the modern peoples only as a result of their so-called emancipation. This equal treatment is basically to be discarded. The chosen exceptional people will also be treated with chosen exceptional measures. The Middle Ages have in this point in no way done enough and not always the purposeful. For example, the canonical prohibition of the taking of interest affected the Christian peoples, whereas the Jews enriched themselves among them through the privilege of taking interest in an uninhibited manner. That was a badly set out exceptional position which one would have rather to reverse in our modern times, even if not literally reverse. Legal precautions against exploitative legal businesses and contracts of all sorts are therefore, today, far more necessary with special regard to the Jews than, rather, in general. Without this principle of making for the Jews as a chosen class also specially chosen laws, one cannot reckon with thorough success. One may therefore not shy away from taking the true natural constitution of the human type in question as a guiding principle and see everywhere that one affects only the Jewish rule and that the second evil is not also created, for the sake of the Jews, of affecting the universal freedom through a universalisation of the measures. For the sake of inner freedom, the nations stir against the Jewish tribe. They wish to free themselves of an oppressing Jewish nightmare, but not to burden themselves further for the sake of this nightmare.

Chapter Six

Immediate means and final goals

1. The general way to a not half but total solution of the Jewish question has been characterised in the previous chapter. It is as much in what it must be as in what it cannot be. It cannot be a mere intellectual principle and also no principle of the improvement of the Jews. It must consist in limitations of exceptional nature which are valid only for the members of the Jewish race. The banal and short-sighted objection of tolerance has proved itself in this way to be badly set out. The political carrying out in modern forms and with modern means of that which the earlier centuries did not accomplish sufficiently in the checking of the Jews is the immediate universal task, even if, by no means, the final goal. The final success of systematic limitation measures must necessarily be the reduction of the Jewish nature in population numbers and wealth as well as, in general, in the participation in state and society. So many better nationalities have already had to meet their fate, and the badly constituted Jewish tribe will not elude it. It will cease to be something as soon as the other peoples have succeeded in using up the places in their own houses and leaving no commercial undertaking to the Jews there. This will then be the inner freedom of the modern nations from the mixing in with a race intolerable and corrupting for these peoples. What time-period may lapse before the effects of the Jewish limitation accumulate to the appropriate point clearly cannot yet be projected. It will cost hard and tenacious work to remove from the Jewish race, with its eel-shaped slipperiness, all corners and all secret ways which it is wont to enter among the modern peoples for its rise to power and which it may also discover in future against the most diverse measures. From smaller measures of limitation one will have to progress to more powerful means.

One will have to remember that the Jews conduct the battle for their expansion and for the accompanying destruction and hemming in of elements of the better nationalities with well-known unscrupulousness and with all means which correspond to the bad moral constitution of their race. If they had had the power for that, the other nations would have long disappeared or at most been left over in the role of slaves of the Jews, as objects of work-exploitation. Such a condition is indeed the only idol which the otherwise so ideal-less Jewish people has had in view from the primordial beginning. In consideration of that, we do not sink into any false morality of a battle for existence but only exercise a right in the interest of the universal humanity and self-maintenance of the better mankind when we dedicate ourselves to such a revolution, as it were, against the undertakings instituted against humanity. The Jews who strive for the repression, and subjection to interest, of the members of all other peoples are justly to be measured with their own standard. It would therefore mean misunderstanding all of humanity if one wished here to hesitate for even just a moment and shrink from instituting the battle against the Jews seriously, for the sake of a lasting neutralisation.

The judaisation of the peoples and all conditions is the fact, dejudaisation the task. This task cannot be resolved in its entire scope all at once; but it must be undertaken immediately in all directions. The three most important fields of work in which it is to be entered upon are, as already demonstrated, the political, the economic, and the social. In view of the determination of the immediate measures, for the execution of which one has to work as speedily as possible, the question can be thrown up whether the political differences in the conditions of the nations do not bring with them also essential differences in the dejudaisation procedures. To this it is to be answered that everywhere the means lying most immediately and the most speedily accomplishable are to be chosen and that, in this selection, the consideration of the forms and characters of the governments can have only little weight. The Jews have only one measure for the governments and, correspondingly, even we have to control only one political means against the Jews. The Jews battle the best government as a bad one if it does not condescend to supporting the judaisation of the nation. On the other hand, they glorify the worst government as excellent if it works into their hands. And for them not freedom but only the Jewish rule is the decisive measure. They always prefer a freedom-opposed government which however favours the Jewish privileges and the Jewish rule to a free one, if the latter protects the nation against Jewish exploitation. If the case is reversed, they are appar-

ently for freedom because they can thereby work for their Jewish monopoly. The entire ladder of all forms and characters of the political conditions, from the most Conservative to the most revolutionary, is in itself indifferent to them and weighed out only according to the advantages which can thereby be made in the business of the judaisation of the peoples. The Jews are never for the freedom and welfare of the peoples; what they bring forward and advertise is business hypocrisy which serves to deceive the public and to set about in a masked way for the Jewish political business. Where it suits them, the Jews flatter the people and hide themselves with the same means of flattery behind the princes and other political power-holders. The latter is indeed their original and most chosen chief way to create influence and privileges for themselves. They manage at the same time to be zealous in their presses against personal power where this is in the way of their advantages, and in other directions to claim, through underhand means, even this personal power with personal flatteries so that it works in the most personal way for the Jewish advantage. At all times, the Jews have sought to cling to the emperors, kings, ministers and other power-holders in order to reach their goal through personal intrigues.

Even in the most recent decades one could observe how the Jews directed their position and tone with regard to the governments never to anything else but to their relation to the Jews. In Germany, this has indeed finally developed most comically. For decades in which the Jews entered into the offices and not only made the businesses of the Reich but also formed the laws according to their desire, they have overwhelmed the leader of German politics in their entire press in every situation with heaven-reaching praise and attributed to him all liberality for glorification before the public. But when it finally became uncomfortable to the Bismarckian government even with regard to these minds, and it began to show somewhat another face and did not wish to see the national work in a national judaisation, Jewish opposition was to be traced there at once in all corners. Basically and essentially nothing had changed in politics, except that everything did not proceed in the interest of the Jews any longer. Thus it was demonstrated that that which should be considered by the Jews as liberality may be liberality only for the Jews, but for the rest may be everything arbitrary. Even the appeal to the formation of a large Liberal party which was undertaken in this stage signified for the close experts nothing but the wish for uniform subordination of the entire Liberal public under the Jews and Jewish-comradely spokesmen. The large Liberal party which one would have liked to see collected together

from the different fragments thus signified a Jewish party in which the nuances of the different Liberal factions should return to the universal Jewish interest and dissolve into this Jewish interest. One could even perceive clearly in the concerned press how in the same they worked for the election of Jewish personalities without consideration of faction membership, whereas one held fast to the party differences and quarrelled among themselves in relation to non-Jews. This is the old affair which, once it is comprehended, can never again deceive. In this way, for example, the Jews in Austria have thereby conducted their own politics so that they mostly set about the Germans and stirred up the conflicts of the latter with the Slavs as much as possible. To exploit the conflict of the different nationalities even belongs to the Jewish business. The Jews are, in fact, hostile to all nationalities; only, they have discovered the Jewish-tolerant forbearance of the Germans and their position in the entire state as the most advantageous meeting point for their operations for the exploitation of all nationalities. But every racial difference within our entire cultural world must resolve itself as much into a battle against the Jews as it is indifferent to the Jews themselves in the exploitation of all races and nationalities. The Jews have here too only that sole standard, with regard to the differences of government. They exploit peoples and governments altogether. They praise or decry, support or oppose, according to whether an element, be it good or bad, justified or unjustified, can be made an instrument of the Jewish claims or not. Accordingly, every government or power is estimated by them and sought to be supported or destroyed, whether it be of a monarchical or republican, Conservative or revolutionary, despotic or Liberal sort. Not merely every government but also every individual is decried as reactionary who combats their bad characteristics and exploitative claims. The most revolutionary government which would help all the modern ideas upto the Socialitarian one to a breakthrough would be decried by the Jews as reactionary if it swept them out and emancipated the society from this social evil.

2. According to the preceding, in the regulations against the Jews it cannot be a question basically of differences of government and party. All nationalities, all governments, all political parties, all orders, and all social groups can, with regard to the Jewish race, as soon as the latter has been understood by them, have only one solution. Thus there arises over all, so to speak, merely domestic differences, the decisive division into only two camps. One is formed by the Jews and the Jewish comrades, the other by the national societies, thus by the non-Jewish humanity. In the following sketch of the special regulations, it is therefore not essential

that on occasion their precisely German situation is taken into view more closely. The significance of the regulations is a universal one and is valid for the most diverse modern peoples. Where the so-called emancipation of the Jews has progressed most, the work becomes, to be sure, the hardest, but is also the most urgent. Germany can to this extent be a type for all other cases, as here the Jewish-tolerating forbearance - to which the good-natured character, and one wishing to be all-round human, of the nation has already been misled for all too long by a backward sort of so-called enlightenment - has let the evil increase to the most extreme unbearability. Moreover, the Germans have to fight for their nationality still more especially in all respects, and, by virtue of their marked Germanic original aptitudes, also have the corresponding vocation to set forth energetically for the inner liberation of their nationality from the Jewish race. In that they excel in this above the other peoples they make good again their corrupting forbearance.

In the sequence of regulations those must precede which are attached most directly to the fact of the emancipation. Since still very many stand under the spell of the false Jewish enlightenment and would not at first like to give up the political equal rights in principle, the first possibility in the field of political regulations is the establishment of the equipoise and the reduction of the Jewish participation in the offices in proportion to their population percentage. Hereby, to be sure, the full political right of the Jews as such remains, but is reduced in its actual overgrowth according to the principle of equality. Something like that, however, must also be only a preliminary minimum. One may bring to mind a certain case from the general situation. In the Reich capital, Berlin, the Jewish race has the mastery in the city representation. Thus a million inhabitants, among whom perhaps the 18th part is Jewish, are ruled and administered or, correctly expressed, economised in their communal matters by Jews. A considerable part of the population of the German Reich finds itself already just through this fact under communal Jewish rule, and it is, in addition, the population of the capital which happens to be significant through more than numerical considerations. I do not wish to speak at all of other extremely judaised cities like Breslau, Frankfurt a.M., etc. The Berlin case alone would for itself already justify a comprehensive regulation. One may therefore ordain through the general state legislation for entire municipalities that their representation may not contain any more Jews than is proportionate to the Jewish population numbers. In Berlin only 1/18 of the entire number of city representatives may belong to the Jewish race. One would also have not just to attend to,

in the urgency of the regulations, the limit of new votes, but to reduce the present-day excess through allotments to the legal limit. The modalities of the execution are moreover incidental points whose discussion here is unimportant. Anyway, one knows in the municipality rights the adherence to certain categories, as, for example, is revealed by the prescription that half of the municipality representatives are to be voted from house owners. With better right one can prescribe that at least such and such a fraction, thus in Berlin at least 17/18, are to be voted from the non-Jewish race.

An analogous extension of this principle of balance and reduction to the legislative bodies of the individual states and of the Reich is very simple, but perhaps actually not so indispensable and not - not even practically - so decisive as in relation to the communes in which the Jewish rule has strengthened itself so exceedingly by virtue of their financial and property influence. On the other hand, there is precisely danger in delay if that principle of reduction is not extended immediately to the state offices, that is, to those of the justice. It is not merely the entire judicial system in itself, but it is also the better principles and the freedom of the entire society which is threatened if, through massive invasion of Jews into these offices, the German conceptions of justice and of the German character of judgement disappear. One may suppose (and this case is inevitable without powerful counter-regulations) that where not the majority, but still an approximate percentage, of the judges and indeed of the state authority positions came into the hands of Jews, nobody who let even a little word sound against the Jewish rule would be secure against persecution or annoyance and moreover all matters would be considered here too according to the already marked Jewish standard. The Jewish rule in state and society would hereby be a complete one. In their jubilee period among us, i.e., in the sixties and seventies, the Jews have already begun to study as a mass the laws and have not merely flooded the advocate positions but also entered already in a considerable number into the actual judicial positions, regardless of their predominant participation in trade courts and their function as jurors. This circumstance should not last, let alone be worsened. One may therefore proceed without hesitation to establishing the necessary reductions according to the measure of the population number through a law, and, through the same, ordain at the same time that as long as the actual official occupation has not fallen below this number, no candidate who cannot demonstrate on demand his non-Jewish origin for the last three generations is allowed to the examinations and other stages of the justice and adminis-

tration. In this way, not only the way to the judicial order but also that to the advocates' vocation is from the start set in a regular proportion; for, the exercise of the advocacy is bound, even after its relative relaxation of controls, to the completion of examinations. I do not have to concern myself here with the details of the transition and execution agreements with which even the present massive filling in of the juridical faculties with Jewish students is to be taken into consideration. But I must indeed recall that analogous legislative agreements are to be considered in order to keep even the jury personnel and similar functions free of a disproportionate mixture of Jews. Besides, that may also hardly come about without a constitutional change. That is, through the law of exception even the removability of the excess of Jewish judges must be made possible, just as one needs, in the case of thorough new judicial organisations, also the authority to place the unemployable judges on reserve. The sums which one would have to pay for something like the reserve salaries to the judges of Jewish origin who are retired would not really be a too expensive price for the immediate establishment of a temporarily bearable proportion. Since the Jewish population in the German Reich amounts to about 1/80, one Jew out of 80 would at the moment be a tolerable proportion. Nevertheless, and naturally much more in view of the present-day situation, every citizen of the German Reich must in a special case have the right to reject a Jewish judge. This is necessary not only in the interest of impartiality, which can be much endangered by racial hatred in individual cases, but one owes also to the German in general so much recognition of his national feeling that one should not bring him into the situation of letting him be judged against his will by a Jewish judge.

The means of reduction are still not final solutions. The old principle that no Jew may be a judge over a German must be renewed once again. Earlier it was limited to religion; today it must be extended to the race. Herein lies the modern difference. The reductions are only the way to the goal. They prepare the understanding for the far-ranging significance of the Jewish question. They are a preliminary answer from which we can learn what things are understood by race - or, for generations, have been unlearned by a false explanation emphasising the religious aspect -, what race, and especially the Jewish race, signifies, and what unchangeable characteristics incompatible with loyalty and trust, with good morals and justice, it drags through world-history and propagates among all peoples. The same reason which finally makes necessary once again the exclusion of Jews from judicial functions demands also their distancing from all other official positions. Indeed it makes it advisable

to remove once again, after the traversing of the intermediate stages, the entire participation of the Jews in political rights, thus obviously not merely the right to be elected, but also the right to vote. However it will be revealed in the discussion of the economic measures that a limitation of the Jews to the sphere of private right is not yet by far a complete answer to the modern Jewish question. The Middle Ages and the modern centuries following them have failed in much here. Yet, before I come to the expression of this financial aspect, I must incidentally recall a couple of considerable points more regarding justice.

A Jewish testimony or judgement must be estimated always with consideration of the special morality and way of thought as well as of the hostile party-standpoint of the Jewish race. Under certain prerequisites, one could indeed declare it to be inadmissible, and indeed with much more right than that of the next of kin. Where the Jew testifies for the Jew against the German, Frenchman, Russian, etc. his statement is, at the least, suspicious. But even otherwise the integrity of the Jewish race in relation to truth and incorruptibility is always to be estimated a fair number of steps lower than among the better cultured nations. Since we do not have any prescriptions any longer in matters of testimonies - except the cases of inadmissibility - which bind the judge, and since the latter decides on the credibility of that which has been testified according to his discretion, it will at the moment indeed come very much to the point that the orientation on the Jewish morality should once again strike socially strong roots and encourage the non-Jewish judges to evaluate the Jewish testimonies according to this.

In relation to the parliaments, and in relation to the commissions which work at sketches of entire law books, one should consider not merely the moral, but also the intellectual unsuitability of the Jews for legislation which has revealed itself only recently in so many laws of predominantly Jewish composition. For example, the Germans, for whom already one works representatively at the civil law-book, should guard against helping to deliver a Jewish-formed birth and recognizing it as their national child. They should however have learnt already to recognize this stamp sufficiently in the trial legislation, even if it is still new. At the moment, before something basic and comprehensive has occurred for the universal distancing of the Jews from the legislation, nothing else remains but that the society help itself for strength and make the non-election of Jewish candidates to the parliaments the widest practice, as a protective measure against all eventualities. Moreover, even loud protests against the participation of racial Jews in legislation sketches would not

be able finally to remain entirely without effect. If we had the misfortune to receive one more civil law book of the style of the trial ordinance, the ruin of the German legal profession would have to be a complete one. Before it comes to that, the Jewish question will perhaps be developed to something of a practical answer to the Jewish mixing in.

3. The chief nerve of the injurious powers of the Jewish race lay, already before the emancipation, in their financial means. Their medieval privilege of taking interest, which the Jews had above the other peoples, can serve as a reminder how contrarily one has strengthened their racial economy. The Jews have been in all centuries the chief exploiters and have indeed always been considered as the usurers *par excellence*, - as usurers not merely in the sense of extortion of higher or illegal interests but in the more universal sense of the use of corrupt practices for economic advantage. Natural legal and economic principles with regard to the Jews, therefore, would have brought with them the opposite of what has actually occurred. The religious policy let the Jews establish themselves in the economic field because for them as Jews a worse morality was not so unpleasant as among the Christians. On the contrary, one would have had at precisely that time - where the bad moral constitution of the persons and the misuse of the economic and commercial rights existed from the start - a reason to entirely prohibit certain businesses like the lending of interest or such like, and to limit and strictly control other businesses. The Jewish race must be supervised in many businesses in which the other peoples may alongside enjoy complete commercial freedom. I come back to this principle again. Here it is a matter at first only of the Jewish finance accumulated from the Middle Ages and the more modern centuries, quite especially however in the most recent period, and of its evil influence on, and against, the modern nationalities as well as in general against all better culture.

That which one calls the laws of national economy do not explain the special Jewish wealth. The latter is understood only from the special racial economy which has been steadily conducted by the Jews for the management of the other peoples. This racial economy is not based on economic characteristics but quite simply on the chosen avarice and an accompanying cunning which, with its animal-like slyness directed to the immediate advantage, favours the arts of the acquisition of foreign wealth. Of the original sanctions of avarice with which the Jews conduct their parasitical economy on other peoples I have already spoken incidentally earlier. The taking of the Egyptian gold along with them was a piece of Jewish racial economy. The latter requires therefore no special defini-

tion. Jewish economy is a euphemism for the acquisition of the national wealth - with every means and without any consideration of justice - by a foreign racial element. The power for advantage on the occasion of all sorts of businesses decides; as far as this power extends, so far also do they lie, swindle, and extort. It can already be remarked outside the Jewish race how often wealth is bound with avarice and, in these cases, the acquisitive greed lying in the personal character and propagated for generations upto now is the cause of the accumulations. The self-interest, which makes no scruples of enriching itself with the injuries of others and of economising on every occasion with every means into its own pocket is the founder of a great number of wealths. Now, the most colossal self-interest, as demonstrated earlier, is embodied in the Jewish race. From this arises not only the racial religion and racial ethics but also the racial economy. Just as the Jewish god devours all other gods, so also the Jewish finance and Jewish economy strive to suck up all other finance and all other economy into itself. Against this disease every check is lacking; for, the Jewish religion and the accompanying ethics not only are strengthened therein but are themselves the most original embodiments of this self-interest, as has been demonstrated earlier in the chapter on character-reflection.

For example, in the case of competition, it is a matter of whether it is practiced with good or bad means. A sound businessman can often not compete appropriately if Jewish competitors carry out the worst practices alongside. Not only the public but also the businessmen themselves, from whom indeed wares are taken away, fall victim to the Jewish deception. So-called bankrupts who enrich themselves are only one example of the many means with which the money-making of the Jews turns even against the businessmen themselves. In general, through the Jewish competition manipulating with the worst means, the better standard of the business morals is also encroached upon elsewhere. Many, since they ignore the bad means in the competition among themselves, fall to the bad resort of similarly letting less appropriate commercial principles rule on their side for the parrying of the Jewish manipulations. In this way, the entire level of the business practice is brought down and the commercial ethics infected through the Jews even outside their circles. The commercial branches in which the Jews have most expanded themselves are the most strongly corrupted. The filthiest occupations like the extortioning of the people in share-businesses or still more refined forms are predominantly in Jewish hands. In small as well as in big, the corruption of honorable business ethics is a Jewish handiwork, whether it deal with

the share-loaners and so-called repurchase traders or with large financiers and founders. In the one case they speculate directly to the last mark and pfennig of the poor people, in the other case with millions upon millions and the money is economised from the pocket of the entire nation in its different strata into the realm of the Jewish portfolios. How many Jewish financial princes, who are each estimated at hundreds of millions, have not reached these colossal wealths chiefly through the great wars of the 19th century and through the exploitation of loans! The foundings and the manipulations with the share-trade are already a more modern phase than the loan-system of the states based on Jewish hawking. One needs only to think of the fall from grace of the Jew Isaac Péreire⁴¹ from the second French Empire in order to have before oneself a picture in which at the same time avarice and imagination were mixed in the most modern commercial form and even openly Socialistic recollections were advertised. In spite of failure and judicial sentencing, there remained to this self-made financial prince, who once apparently made hundreds of millions for himself almost out of nothing, a very considerable part of it. Those are the fruits when the peoples let themselves be subjected to the Jewish operations!

In order not to forget here our own German era of the founding of the Reich, as well known as its manipulations and fruits have also become, let us point to the circumstance that this era coincided with the most important jubilee period of the official and legislative Jewish expansion, thus with the sixties and seventies. In these years, even financially special opportunities were created for the Jews to conduct their national exploitation in a grand style. The French milliards and the quick concentration of the population in the capital and the chief cities of Germany would have brought with it, even without Jews, a disturbance of the conditions originating in the suddenness of the changes as well as in a disproportionate rise of prices. But the Jews exploited this situation and hereby multiplied the evil tenfold. Indeed they made it so lasting insofar

⁴¹ Isaac Pereire and his brother, Emile, were professedly disciples of St. Simon and founded a credit bank in 1852 called the *Crédit Mobilier* for Napoleon III, chiefly in order to ruin their rival, Baron James Rothschild. But the latter was too astute for them and succeeded in devastating their new enterprise by manipulation of *Crédit Mobilier* shares. Also, the depression of 1856 helped accelerate the end of the Percires' experiment in Jewish state-controlled credit.

as they created from the nation means with which they can once again suck dry the same for generations. The dishonest profit of the Jews is always a double loss for the losing society; for, it becomes at the same time an instrument to increase the dishonest management and squeezing of the same. To speak in a political economic manner, the Jewish capital has in this way very much of an advantage in exploitative power compared to other capital because it is, from the start, determined only for profiteering with all means and it functions only in this role. It has a universally injurious occupation and, while it increases and concentrates itself powerfully, it also raises the injuries following on the feet of its Jewish business to colossal proportions. All arguments which one has in general made against capital are trifles compared to those which one would have to make with greater precision and fuller justice against the Jewish capital. The latter task would however lead here too much into the specifically political economic field. Even without such specialist scientific explanation, it can be comprehended that Jewish wealth has grown at the cost of national wealth and the wealth of the society, and increasingly serves to expropriate the nations in favour of the Jews or, in other words, to transform the property of the society into Jewish wealth.

The Jewish finance employs not merely the economic functions to extort new Jewish money from the peoples but serves also, in addition, to expand and concentrate the Jewish mastery in all directions by way of influencing. Individual Jewish financial princes control, through this sort of corruption, entire groups of newspapers in cases where the Jewish element does not yet have predominance further. They hereby concentrate the Jewish rule where it already exists anyway, as usually in the press, and direct it systematically in the sense of their financial exploitative operations. Where they have not themselves bought the newspapers in their entirety, they possess editors and owners to whom indeed they - if in general the inconspicuous way of corruption is still maintained - give over shares and other effects very cheaply for participation in the operations, not to speak of the advertisement amounts and the colossally paid text advertisements. If, therefore, the newspapers were also not, as is in fact mostly the case, in the hands of the Jews and Jewish comrades and served editorially and otherwise by the Jewish element, the Jewish financial rule would still suffice to damage a freedom of the press in the sense of an independence from Jewish interests. Of the lesser Jewish finance, i.e. of the means of indirect influencing diverse social elements through rich Jews, I shall only speak in the discussion of the social regulations.

Against the bad circumstance and the corruption which is presented in great style even exceptionally great means of a comprehensive sort are to be applied. Indeed, whatever one may do besides for the limitation of the Jews, nothing would last so long as the great financial power of the Jews remains untouched. Removal from official positions and from social functions cannot suffice to make the exclusion of the Jewish race from the life of the modern nations, which is the decisive goal, accomplishable. So long as the bulwark of the great Jewish finance still stands, the Jewish power over the modern states and societies too remains uncut in its chief nerve. If peoples and states cannot decide on social-economic laws of exception, the Jews will rather finish them off than they the Jews. The power of the Jews lies not in some sort of intelligence; on the contrary, they indeed manifest in the businesses often sufficient limitation and disorderly distraction, whereas in science and legislation, as was demonstrated earlier, they suffer from the most decisive lack of capacity. The pawn with which they extort and from which their power arises is the result of that tough, thousand-year-old self-interest - it is the concentrated wealth which they have sucked up from us for centuries. The decisive regulations must therefore relate to the Jewish financial principalities - and to the financial institutions approximating them in scope - which are found in Jewish possession or in general to be considered as Jewish domains.

One has removed many worldly or spiritual orders, one has withdrawn the church and cloister wealth, and should one in a case in which more cultural interests, indeed entire existences of peoples, stand at stake, look on calmly and leave the financial battle towers of the Jewish race, from which they make their exploitative attacks, untaken? I do not at all wish here to maintain a full analogy with the historical regulations which were directed apparently against the property of the so-called dead hand but in fact against the power of the possessor, that is indeed against the power of the priests. Christian priestly rule was and is relatively only a small evil if one compares it with the racial rule of the Jews. Even the accumulated property in the dead hand is in general, even when it has become very comprehensive, not in the remotest to be compared to the evil which the possession in the Jewish hands represents. The dead hand and especially destroyed corporate bodies and decayed institutions in which nothing stirs for the purposeful economisation and employment, produce an elusive gain for the peoples; incomparably worse however is the hand which kills the popular welfare through financial exploitation.

The process of political development to which the modern states owe their existence provides similarly an analogy applicable to the financial principalities of the Jews. The smaller lordships had first to be removed and made indirect, so that the modern state power could arise. Through the political mediatisations of the private princes the people have been freed from their rule and become participant in a more universal right. I consider now the mediatisation of the Jewish financial princes and the corresponding financial institutions as those preliminary regulations without which the power of the Jewish race cannot be effectively limited. This mediatisation would at first have to consist in the fact that curators would be provided to the Jewish financial principalities on behalf of the state which would have to supervise and once again direct the operations. These curators would have to be regular state officials, against whose corruption one would have to make sure, besides, even through special precautions. This however would be only one transitional measure towards complete mediatisation. From a certain level of wealth fixed high, finally all Jewish businesses would have to be placed under state supervision and co-administration. It can indeed be least tolerated that precisely a foreign race of the constitution of the Jews cross over the limits of natural private competence and exercise a commercial power over entire social groups which equals the sovereign rights of the states. Every economy which goes beyond a certain range assumes this character. It can, for example, not be exercised without the acquisition of a sort of police function. The regulation of hundreds of clerks and, in general, the disposal of an entire personnel of officials is something which already has grown beyond the natural private sphere. Here the society must, by virtue of its organisation as a state, enter and ensure the freedom of its members by at first not letting these small lordships be maintained uncontrolled and then finally by fully mediatising them. Hundred times more urgent than this universal necessity, however, is that which forces us when we see before us the Jewish race in such sovereign functions over the members of a non-Jewish nation. Then the mediatisations must indeed be carried out internationally among the most diverse peoples so that, after the limitation of the internal Jewish power, an external one does not remain over which could injure the internal partly directly through power politics, partly indirectly through the maintenance of a hostile foreign policy.

What does it help to exclude the Jews from the actual official positions, thus from the direct service of the state and of the municipalities, if it remained possible for them to maintain the mentioned social

positions of power which not only seem similar to the official positions but mostly exercise a far more comprehensive force than the formal official positions! If therefore I have mentioned the financial princes as the directly most suited objects of mediatisation, I have wished therewith to indicate only where and how the most effective beginning is to be made with the reforms against the Jewish racial economy. An abandoning of further steps is not included here. On the contrary, the peoples will increasingly more perceive that they must bring the Jewish capital in all its uses under their control if they do not wish themselves to be economised out and even morally injured in their integrity. One does not attain the chief matters with small usury laws. And one must in general remember always afresh that only such laws of exception which are valid precisely and exclusively for the Jewish race can produce something serious. Through universal decrees which may find application even to the remaining society one either could institute nothing considerable or one will harm incomparably more than help. That is, no universally valid rules can be thought of under which the general freedom would at the same time be preserved and the Jews appropriately restricted. If one wished to establish the entire national legislation according to the demands of the Jewish constitution, one would impress on it the character of stipulations for a nation of criminals and have therewith to set oneself in chains.

4. If we turn from the chief points of the really political and the economic financial fields to the, in a narrower sense, social affairs, in the first place the dejudaisation of the press must be begun here as the most urgent chief task. Alongside the wealth, the possession of the press is the strongest bulwark of the Jewish race. It would be superfluous here to elucidate anew the now already universally known fact that the press not only among us but in the most diverse nations is well-nigh exclusively in the hands of the Jews, or stress indeed the consequences of this fact. The brief statement that the public opinion has become Jewish opinion and the public conscience Jewish conscience says enough, while it says everything to one who in general knows the Jewish nature. And the question would be rather idle of how far, in the press occupation, yet another special corruption corresponding to the literary occupation and the present-day attitude of the newspapers is found bound to the universal Jewish corruption. It is enough that the press corruption is present in the highest proportions and in all countries and in all parties and that it reveals in itself in the most marked manner, apart from the universal corruption, also the special traits of the Jewish demoralisation. The entire investigation of how far the press would be corrupt even without Jews would

become practical only if the legislation is henceforth to be universalised. Laws against the press-Jews however will today affect in fact the entire press situation as it is, and one can indeed later - after the progress of the dejudaisation - judge far better than now in what a scope newspaper writers are in general to be treated with special laws and prevented in bad practices. To be sure, before the dejudaisation, not all stipulations in the reform of exceptions can be clothed in the present purely Jewish laws. This is however based on the fact that the Jews have determined the morals or rather the lack of morals in this field and that one must eliminate these bad practices themselves no matter by how many they are practiced. Pseudonymity or, expressed plainly, the deception of the public with false names is a swindle conducted by the press Jews in the greatest scope just as indeed the Jews change their names many times for their goals also otherwise in civil intercourse. In the press and literature, however, real false names spread, especially also in the form of noble names for the far worse aim of impressing the public not only through this false representation but also to commit behind these elusive false names all sorts of offences, thus not only to set forth slanders, insults, and distortions but also to create the appearance in the public as if it were a responsible representative of the same with a full sounding name. It is, however, the mildest thing if behind it only Jewish ignorance were hidden, as it so often occurs in the field of the *feuilleton*, especially of the natural scientific one. Although now laws against the falsification of names or, in general, on the mentioning of names must be universal, they would however not be urgently required if precisely the Jews had not raised the nuisance of this manner to the fullest intolerability and made the views on falsification of names and anonymity quite shameless.

The chief reforms of the press will at first have to consist in special laws for the Jews. Making a state monopoly of advertisements in order to undermine in this way the present-day financial background of the newspapers and to hinder the corruption practiced through the advertisements could not yet free the newspapers from the hands of the Jews. The Jews would even in this way remain in possession of the press and be able to keep other elements away from it. But it is a complete illusion to reckon with the initiative of the public itself and to maintain that the individual would help himself through a withdrawal of subscription. The public, that is that of the Liberal parties, is represented too much through its newspapers, and if it attains enlightenment on the Jews even in other ways there is not at the same time another press present to which it could turn. Even large newspapers are not easily driven out of their usual possession of

subscriptions by competition, even with the expense of great financial means. Only under extraordinary changes of the political situation and of the political directions does one manage to divert the stream of subscribers so far as to create a public for newspapers of a basically different sort. We can therefore reckon only little with this factor, as regards the dejudaisation of the press. The anti-Jewish aspect must be represented in all parties and it would require therefore not merely individual organs but an entirely new system of newspapers in order to break ground for it. However, for the indicated reasons, no possibility is to be seen for this in the way of usual competition. The society must therefore decide even here to set in as a state, and indeed with a direct racial law. Earlier, the Jews could not apply for any landed property, and this is still the case in many provinces. This fitting prohibition through which their establishment and settlement was deliberately reduced is not only suited in itself to contemporary renewal and expansion but provides also an analogy for the press property. One may carry through in the legislation the principle that no racial Jew may be the possessor or owner of distraint rights in a newspaper and order immediately the required regulations to dejudaise the newspaper possession. In addition, the conduct of the newspaper profession is to be prohibited to the Jews even in the wider sense that no Jew can be a responsible or real editor, indeed in general may not belong to the editorial personnel. Adam Smith justified the shipping act which secured for the English the cargo trade exclusively to their own vessels as an economic rule of exception of political necessity. With more right and still greater prospect of success can the nations today demand that one return to them their newspaper press. Next to the state-power the press-power is the most significant machinery and in the external direction of ideas the daily press precedes today the Church, which in earlier centuries had the monopoly of direct spiritual influence. The nations must become conscious once again on this point of their racial honour and may not tolerate that a Jewish opinion be foisted on them as their own opinion.

The newspaper occupation is an example of those managements which, because they are through and through Judaised and demoralised, demand an exceptionally strict controlling legislation. The way matters stand at the moment, one would have to prohibit not only false names and, in addition, articles by anonymous writers but also, in the case of offences, not only make the undersigned responsible but also investigate the real writer. One would require for this naturally also the reintroduction of the full civil duty of testimony before the court. Even for reports,

one should legislatively demand some security. In view of the most complete deception which forms one characteristic trait of the entire press and will not even disappear immediately if the most important press Jews are removed, the introduction of a quick and effective trial of exception for the forcing of settlements and a sharpening of the concerned penalties is one of the most pressing needs. Herewith, however, I reach already from the direct legislation, and that related directly to the Jews, to matters which have also a more general character. These matters flow into the sea of universal corruption which is not filled exclusively by the Jews, in which, however, the latter swim and mostly fish in the most uninhibited manner. Not the legislation against a corrupt press in general but the removal of the chief nerve of this corruption through the dejudaisation of the press is here the decisive point of view. I have therefore to recall further only that, with the dejudaisation of the press, even the dejudaisation of literature in general is made possible. If the Jews in the newspapers cannot push any longer for the bad products of their people and of their comrades into the advertisement-organs and, at the same time, silence the good and suppress it through distortion, the Jewish or judaised literature will no longer appear anywhere with its wretchedness. It must, as an artificial product of the Jewish advertisement, fall into nothing, if the support of this insolent Jewish advertisement is removed which, where it suits it, raises the most inadequate daily publication to the heavens. Such Jewish advertisement manages to proclaim a subordinate Jewish litterateur or parliamentarian as a great publicist or politician, who exercises a most decisive influence on the development of at least an entire field if not indeed of the entire culture. In general, all other advertisements are strongly affected if the newspaper Jews do not have them any longer in their hands. What sort of advertisement has not been made by the latter in the newspapers, for example, for the most recent German legislation procedure of Jewish stamp, and how these press-Jews have glorified everything to the public before its introduction and, afterwards, when everybody could grasp tangibly its uselessnesses, extenuated it according to their ability! If the newspaper power remains a Jewish power, then in literature and politics, indeed even in the actual science, the most shameless advertisement is made for everything which emerges either from the Jews themselves or from those who side with the Jews, thus from actual Jewish comrades. On the contrary, the really preferable and in general everything good and honorable - to which the Jews already have an aversion from inherited instinct even when it does not have the least to do with the pro or con in relation to the Jews - is basically and

in an artificial way thrown aside. That however which is produced from the character of the modern peoples and so is an especial honour for the nations is in every case devalued where it cannot be silenced. If the nations therefore wish that among them a public word may still be possible for the appropriate evaluation of their best people, they must free themselves from the Jewish press.

Similar principles as in relation to the daily press are also to be applied where it is a matter of the complete dejudaisation of other occupations. One could go just one step further in the really universally harmful occupations which are almost exclusively possessed by Jews, and replace these completely with better public precautions. In this way, in order not to undervalue the miseries of the poorer strata of the people, the business of security-loans already designated as a filthy one, that is, in the fully objectionable form of repurchase, is at best to be prohibited fully and replaced by public loan offices. The city administration of Berlin, in which indeed the Jews are decisive, has been concerned, as already mentioned, in the seventies for just the reverse. They wished to see the couple of public loan offices which are existent removed. Then their business trade was transferred into the hands of the individual security-lending Jews. This is a proof of the racial economy in small matters similar to what was projected in great matters in the first decade of the century by the baptized and Anglicised stock-exchange Jew and famous national economist, Ricardo,⁴² in favour of the banking profession. His plan indeed was that of dissolving the Bank of England. The business trade of the same, he maintained, could be much better distributed among individual private bankers. To be sure, this would have been for the millionaire Ricardo and his Jewish professional comrades a considerable gift. I have shown above that one must conduct precisely the opposite of such a Ricardian racial economy in order to attain the correct one. One does not have to kill and dissect the national institutions and public establishments so that the Jews might take possession of the inheritance, but one has to mediatise the Jewish financial princes and, in general, restrict the Jewish profession even in small matters in order to replace it with better public institutions. The greatest can be removed here along with the smallest with approximately the same leading principle; for, it is the same racial economy which we encounter in the largest exploitative machinery as in the smallest and tangibly filthiest business

⁴² See p.110 above.

occupation. The Jewish swindlers in peasant wealth, and the so-called land profiteers, as well as the entire troop of Jewish dealers in small peasant mortgages and bills of exchange provide another example of generally harmful business occupation. Insofar as this generally dangerous sphere cannot be affected by renewal of the prohibitions of the acquisition of real estate or, better, even of all real estate rights including the security right, a direct prohibition of these Jewish businesses would be in place. At least it would be more appropriate to protect individual classes of the population in this way than to exercise a representation through limitation of the general ability to draw bills of exchange. Through the latter one limits the business capacity and freedom of the people for the sake of the Jews and such a thing is, according to the leading principle presented above of the legislation of the exception of Jews, to be avoided wherever possible.

Instead, however, of going too far into the prohibitions against the businesses of the Jews, it is better, in order to avoid the cumbersomeness of such a legislation, that one wherever possible removes the Jewish businesses themselves along with the Jews. At least the municipalities must have the right to refuse the positioning of members of the Jewish race. Indeed they must, if the Jewish regulation is first found in an advanced stage, be obliged by the general state laws not to increase further their component of Jews. The state itself, however, must directly hinder the immigration of Jews into its area. The general freedom of movement must as a rule remain existing for the municipalities and also internationally for the states with regard to all tolerable races and nationalities; but precisely so that this freedom may be saved against the Jews a thorough exception must be made with regard to the Jews. Otherwise, the Jewish dispersal into the nations leads to the fact that the nations must, for the sake of the Jews, limit in themselves their own freedom, which is beneficent to them, and so cause harm to themselves in order to ward off the greater Jewish harms. In general, the personal distancing of the Jewish contingents from the state and municipality spheres, to which the generally dangerous business occupation would here lead, is, in every context, of the greatest importance. The goal of the legislation specifically related to the Jewish conduct is indeed that, later, it does not have to be brought into use any longer - if in the meanwhile the Jews themselves will have disappeared from the field of such legislation. But the first beginning for the reduction of the Jewish population is obviously the obstruction of their immigration. Within a state territory, however, the checking of the change of settlement will contribute to limiting an essentially nomadising

people like the Jewish tribe in the increase of their numbers and of their wealth acquired at the cost of the host nation. From such a viewpoint, one could also have a surtax be set up in the case of all sorts of direct taxation if it is Jewish hands to whom the tax-subject belongs. That is, there is also the judicial reason that possession and incomes in which the suspicion of a dishonest acquisition is in place should in fairness be more highly taxed than the acquisitions not suspected of that characteristic. On the contrary, it would also harm the general situation of the members of the better nationalities if, on account of their Judaisation, one wished to affect business branches with higher taxes in general than one would otherwise impose. Even in the taxation, the racially-directed personal exceptional nature of all legislation arisen through the Jewish evil should not be ignored. This exceptional nature must remain here as everywhere the leading principle.

5. Instruction and education are a field in which the Jewish mixing in already exercises its moral ruin at the roots and the spiritual integrity of the modern nations must finally damage still more thoroughly than anywhere else. The Jews are concerned about what one calls the non-confessional school, not really from freedom from superstition, but because it makes possible to them their penetration to instructorship. The latter is the motive through which alone the agitations become understandable with which they operate for the barren, useless structure of non-confessional schools in the Jewish-mixed population. The lack of religion of the blasé, indifferent, sort apparently becomes here the ground for the providing of entry to the Jewish race and its seed. In their own Jewish educational institutions, the race does not in the remotest think of introducing a non-confessional aspect, and here one may recognize why they should produce the non-confessional nature of the upto now Christian schools. This non-confessional nature has for the Jews the value of a removal of the non-Jewish, thus signifies the admission of the Jewry. It is bad enough that, at the moment, the confessional school in the sense of the different Christian confessions forms the most limited and limiting means of keeping the Jewish influence at a distance from the popular education. Mentality and life-view are themselves in pure scientific education, let alone in the educative component of the same, nothing less than indifferent. Indeed, in the case of an instructor of mathematics, I would inquire not merely about his usual moral character, but also about his general way of thought. His scientific mendacity or indifference could work as harmfully as that of a person who conducts some other educational subject. I cannot develop here by way of parenthesis my principles

on that which has to enter more powerfully than has happened in religion upto now, even in the schools, in place of the hitherto religious character of the same, in order to provide a check to that - something which is lacking to these institutions which are actually nothing but religion-less. From where should trust and loyalty of the better man to his kind and to the basis of all goodness come, and from where should the confidence be taken without which the understanding and will remain without a compass on the sea of life, if certain truths of the character of all existence and of the relation of man to this are not taught? A complete separation through which an external science is sundered and taught in the main without convictions is neither inwardly realizable nor desirable; for, it is precisely the advantage of the basic spirit that it penetrates everything with its knowledge and does not throw aside at will or denies in any other way a total conviction of the character of all things and all knowledge. But this is mentioned only incidentally. In the case of the distancing of the Jewish race from the system of instruction and education, it is a question of much more than a warding off of indifference, frivolity, and, in general, ways of thought of the Jewish stamp. The entire demoralising and corrupting Jewish influence which arises with necessity from the moral and intellectual characteristics of the race is in question in the introduction of racial Jews into the instructorship of the youth. It belongs in general to the racial honour of the modern peoples not to let the members of their own nationalities be instructed by Jews. This point of view must prevail also in the higher education and, for example, the student must ensure the honour of his nationality in the fact that the sciences are not served or, rather, sold to him by a foreign, incomparably lower race. The universities have recently been infected not a little by lecturers and professors of the Jewish race. Baptised and unbaptised Jews press in here, and indeed chiefly for two reasons, one of which was already touched upon earlier. First, the corruption of the decaying university system exercises on the Jews its attractive force, as the latter feel themselves indeed, as is well known, especially attracted by all manner of corruption, in order to be able therein to conduct their inherited characteristics in a congenial and uninhibited manner. Secondly, however, the university professors are actually officials of a good-for-nothing sort and the Jewish race knows everywhere to seek out the businesses associated with little work. In addition, there is the fact that the Jewry wishes to extend its influence also in this sphere, and it can do so, since the decayed professorial group which exercises the still decisive right of nomination like a patronage rather meets with the Jewish element than offers it resistance.

In the already often mentioned jubilee period of the Jews, indeed the highest educational administration in Prussia surpassed even the professors in the competition for the promotion of the university Jews and the concerned, quite subordinate, education minister, a Mr. Falk,⁴³ was proclaimed by the Jewry, and the press ruled by them, for that reason also as being most highly liberal and excellent. What deterioration took place at that time in the entire educational system everywhere, from its lowest level upwards, through the promotion of inappropriate elements, is still in too fresh memory to require here a characterisation. The Jews were delighted at this situation, and that alone is already a judgement.

The general judgement with which the modern peoples have to respond to the attempts at the wide judaisation of education is the legislative settlement that, apart from in really Jewish schools, no person of Jewish origin may have a part in public instruction. This must be valid for all levels of the education upto the highest one. It is a racial law and extends for that reason further than the exclusions belonging to the older sort on religious grounds. The latter affected and affect only the religious Jews. And they are becoming increasingly more untenable vis-à-vis Protestants and Catholics and herewith also more unsuited to serve against the Jews. In this way, it is revealed very clearly what advantages the modern exclusive principle based on race has also practically. The race includes the religion in it, because the religion as a rule appears only in the race. A law of exception which takes the race as its mark is therefore without further ado also a law of exception in relation to the accompanying racial religion. One who wishes to see the religion excluded finds his goal also attained in a racial law; one, however, who turns in a basic and modern way at the same time against the cause of all the remaining, thus against the race, cannot be satisfied by a law of mere religious character.

How inadequate, in general, the religious standpoint becomes in relation to the Jews is revealed by marriages. Not the religious mixture but the racial mixture is here the predominant disadvantage. The question of intellectual convictions is really not indifferent; but the question of flesh and blood affects the root of all life. In addition, the unity and

⁴³ Paul Ludwig Falk (1827-1900) was a Prussian politician who took part in the Kulturkampf. His Liberal Church- and school-policies were bitterly attacked by the Catholics as well as by the Protestant orthodoxy and Kaiser Wilhelm I.

uniformity of the family must be disturbed still more through racially mixed marriages than through religiously mixed ones, if it is thereby a question of the Jewish race incompatible with all other racial existence. In the case of nationalities who stand close to one another and are each of them of good constitution, the crossing can work beneficially and one can under circumstances also gladly see here mixtures resulting from political reasons. But in the case of the mixing in of Jewish blood, only deterioration can result under all circumstances. This decay is formed worst when female members of better peoples fall victim to the fate of serving as propagatory vessels for the Jewish race and Jewish character. In view of such formation, in consideration of honour and shame, the blood of the better peoples should rather burst out of their frontal veins than that they tolerate such a debasing of their nationalities and such a Judaisation of their blood even in the smallest measure. Somewhat more tolerable, but still a considerable evil is the reverse case. The marriages of Jewesses with men of better nationalities indeed also decay the progeny since they mix in the Jewish characteristics, but they do not represent directly the Jewish race. One, however, who wished to assume that the Jewish characteristics can be bred away by mixture and crossing of any sort would be on the most erroneous path. The falseness of the feline character is not to be bred away and the serpent nature remains always the same in itself. Neither climate nor cultural environment later change any chief point of the original natural endowment. The dose of mixture in the Jewish bastards can occur in different ways, indeed according to whether the crossing is repeated in the one or the other direction. Half-and quarter-Jews or even three-fourth Jews however will be a nuisance who have an advantage above the full-blooded Jews of the possibility of penetrating more easily into the remaining society. The better understanding which the half-breeds inherit from the element of the able nationalities makes the participation in the Jewish character among them still more dangerous.

Fortunately, the number of the racially mixed marriages is upto now not very large, and many reasons work against racial mixture on both sides. That which one can mostly trust is the instinctive aversion, indeed the disgust, which the uncorrupted women of better nationalities have against the mixture with men of the Jewish race. On the other hand, the Jews themselves, insofar as they follow their old traditions, are intent on remaining in chosen separation and wish nothing less than to actually merge into other races through racial mixture. Insofar as they still conduct marriage contracts, these are a sort of affiliations through which they

create for their influence a further entry into the remaining society. In general, the marriages between members of other nationalities and such of the Jewish race are as a rule business marriages, whose reasons are to be found either in public financial interests of the one side or in considerations of influence and vanity of the other. Such unions of this sort, which are already an evil situation, become, if they spread within the same nationality, fully a harm if the Jewish element therein predominates and even in this way afflicts the better nationalities with its businesses. Nevertheless, it does not seem fitting to introduce legislative hindrances so long as the actual extension of the evil does not threaten to become significantly greater than it is today. One can leave this state of affairs for the moment - and apparently also, in the final analysis, to the natural laws of the already mentioned tendency and moreover, so far as it is a matter of the restraining of men of better nationalities from Jewish marriages, to the racial honour of the modern nations. If the other powerful regulations against the overgrown Jewish power are set into motion, the economic seduction to the marriage of Jewish money too will become more meagre, indeed finally as good as pointless. But indeed one has to take care at first through the explanation of race that the free private initiative is not misled and indeed, in the case of women of better nationalities, the healthy counteraction of Nature is not deceived by the well-known false Jewish explanation. The questions of miscegenation, as little disturbing as they are in the expansion of Jewish marriages upto the present, should never be basically undervalued. More than blood and iron do flesh and blood decide on the fate of nations and of individuals, and the extraction or breeding to a more noble humanity and morality depends above all on the breeding of a better type. The dispersal of the Jewish population is already in itself a great evil; a considerable Judaisation of the blood of the modern peoples however would, if it would really advance, be an incomparably greater one.

6. The purely social ramifications of the Jewish influence will have to be defended against even through social means, that is, to a certain degree, through the activity of the individual and of the association, provided that the decisive political means which have already been indicated by us come to our aid in the other directions. But even without this, immediately at least some lessening of the evil is to be expected where the society in its individual members and groups makes a front once again against the penetration of the Jewish race and, to the best of its ability, rids itself of the already penetrated elements and obtruded relations. This social purification must be accomplished in as many forms as

the corrupt amalgamation with the foreign and demoralising element shows itself. Let us therefore recall the manifold viewpoints which come into question here, at least through some characteristic examples. Even the indirect social rule which the Jews seek everywhere in the most diverse ways to bring to themselves has, as already remarked above, its chief nerve in finance. The press, as much material and intellectual mischief as it also causes, serves however first as an instrument of second rank. The influences which the Jewish financial princes exercise everywhere, and indeed not merely through the new sort of financial feudalism but through indirect making serviceable of the most diverse persons and circles for the Jewish goals, have already been recalled, and against these too only the appropriate heroic means can help. But the influence of second rank, indeed in a smaller concentration - but for that reason also exercised in a greater range - is not to be underestimated, and this is exercised by simple millionaires or, in general, rich people of the Jewish race, often inconspicuously and unnoticeably, on the affairs of individuals and entire groups of the remaining society. The dependence caused by the debt to the Jews of classes of state functionaries is really a great danger for the integrity of the communal being. From Pest it was reported to me by a highly educated man well oriented on the Hungarian conditions, a former businessman, that in Hungary a great part of the judges, officials, and representatives are, through debt, in the hands of the Jews. In order to characterise the general scope of the Jewish evil there, it was added by him that alone in Pest half of the houses belong to Jews and that the German language press indeed shows no newspapers independent of the Jews. It is understood that analogous situations, that is, in relation to house possession, also occur elsewhere and enable moreover the realm in which the Jewish power extends itself to be measured.

Apart from the physical dependence in relation to the Jewish race, its alleged liberality also not seldom comes into consideration. Through taxation, and upto now, also through extraordinarily imposing gifts, the Jews extend their rule in the most diverse occasions and over all institutions, associations or aspiring groups. The financial liberality is thereby an appearance calculated for the public behind which a genuine Jewish business is concealed. How frequent this manner is, of trading some distribution of finance for an influence which powerfully surpasses and richly pays interest on the capital expended for the Jewish interests, one may measure from the fact that just from my own personal observation a number of cases of the most diverse sort are known to me. I shall recall only a couple of Berlin cases. A lecture institute for, so to speak, study-

ing women which bears the name Victoria Lyceum is directed, under the influence of Jews and university professors indeed, by an English woman who, however, knows excellently to deal with the Jews, a fact which however has brought with it a very strong predominance of this element.⁴⁴ For example, let us recall only a millionaire Reichenheim, who is found along with Jewish and non-Jewish professors on the management committee of this undertaking and in this way represents nothing tangibly but the Jewish finance which has flowed into the undertaking in the case of assemblies organized by the English director. To point further to a very different case, but also one recorded in the field of education, in 1877 a rich Jew named Höchberg originating from Frankfurt placed significant sums at the disposal of Social Democracy for a sort of workers' academy in Berlin and for other purposes. I had just been removed from the university and was supposed to play, as the Judaized Social Democracy and the concerned capitalist imagined, not only the capitalist of the mind but also let my name be affixed to this undertaking. At the same time, however, the secret word, but nevertheless one not unknown to me, of the Social Democratic leaders standing under the influence of the Jewry was that no 'Dühring cult' was to be allowed to be conducted and to search out such a thing in every favourable evaluation of my scientific works. I, as a descendant of old Swedes, was not the man to let myself be led into obscurity and used by Jews and Judaized Social Democrats. Since I rejected every participation, nothing came of the matter, because now the capital of the mind was lacking to the millionaires of finance. Mr. Höchberg has indeed at that time and later in Social Democracy used his monies in different ways; Social Democracy, however, has not thereby reaped anything further than to owe the Jews some further considerations in addition to its already existing Judaisation. Parties which, as mentioned, let themselves operate through Jewish money must forfeit the final remainder of independent maintenance. But the Jews who in this way enter in with apparent financial liberality, even when they, in the mentioned case, do not proceed precisely adeptly, strive thereby however always for nothing but the pressing forward of their influence and their rule. Another case of purchased Jewish influence is

⁴⁴ cf. *Sache, Leben und Feinde*, p.174f, where Dühring refers to his lectureship at the Lyceum from 1873 and his removal from it in 1876 through the machinations of the professorial and Jewish elements involved in its administration.

provided by the free religious community of Berlin. To this has been made a gift of some 60,000 marks by a Jewish millionaire called Pringsheim, who serves as the director of their funds. Their members partly do not remark anything of it that their association has become in this way a Jewish branch establishment. Since however the Jewish question was expressed in Berlin in public assemblies and the preacher of that religious community found himself on the Jewish issue in the opposition in such assemblies, the dependence of the community on the Jewish influence has become clear enough and explains indeed also the actual corruption of the same. A further example of the expansion of the Jewish influence is the undertaking of a lecture institute for mixed public under the advertisement name of a Humboldt Academy. The Jews previously indeed opened a 'highschool for the Jewry' in Berlin; whereas, however, the latter, on account of its too open designation, was little frequented by the Jews themselves, they have, with the encouragement of the city authorities, established that lecture institute nearby. In the latter, not only the professors from the real Jewish high school are lecturers but they belong also otherwise, in terms of the personnel active therein and of the foundation, so decisively to the Jewry that one can call this so-called Humboldt Academy perhaps not a school for Jews but indeed a school of Jews, thus in short a Jewish school for the instruction of the general public. Wherever one directs one's glance, also, one will find everywhere in the undertakings and associations, upto the associations represented in the workers' profession, the members of the Jewish race not only as dealers but also discover, through deeper penetration into the conditions, financial relations by virtue of which the dealers stand in connection to the remaining Jewry. Indeed, the Jewish finance, as already mentioned earlier, has found with its notes, even in the so-called music of the future, if not a tone-setting, still a tone-transforming admission!

Such a judaisation of the financial sort, demoralising for all social levels and all parties, as has been characterised in the preceding examples, would not be able to expand itself if official favouring did not come in as well. Instead of the latter, it should rather be recommended to decree as invalid from the start, through state-laws, the loans of Jews to judges and other officials. In the meanwhile, one must, in the entire sphere of indirect financial influences, reckon with the effect of those reforms through which the chief power instruments of the Jewry are checked at their source itself. If the great finances, the press and the officials do not stand at their disposal, even the indirect financial influences of second rank will not arise so much as hitherto. For the rest, the

social initiative must serve as a means of keeping the members of the Jewish race at a distance from all associations and undertakings. This initiative is not only necessary in new cases, but must also be seized, insofar as this is accomplishable anywhere, for a cleansing of all associations and institutes upto now. One may not be misled by the Jewish clamour about intolerance and inhumanity. It is a question of seeing ourselves in our own social matters tolerated by ourselves and not forced by Jews. Even humanity is in question with regard to those who are to be protected from the Jewish management. One may therefore plainly declare in the statutes of the associations the non-acceptance, on principle, of members of the Jewish race and proceed similarly in all other matters. The over-judaisation of the society in individual higher professional classes as in the sphere of doctors is, to be sure, not to be removed in this way. Here, however, the earlier mentioned limitations of settlement finally exert decisive results. Since the number of the Jewish doctors has grown so exceedingly and through the Jewish legislation in the already mentioned jubilee period of the Jews, in Prussia the legal duty of the doctors to perform help on call has been intentionally removed and at the same time new areas of income have been created such as those through inoculation. Even the doctors have in this period agitated with Jewish insolence for disproportionately high fees which would be unreasonable not merely for the poorer classes of people. Similarly, they have concerned themselves to remove the midwives wherever possible in order to have a monopoly on birth help. This genuine Jewish politics, with its purely commercial treatment of the profession, wants increasingly more rights and indeed monopoly, but no duties. Even here the society needs a cure, but not such a one which is to be practiced by the Jewish doctors on it, but which is practiced by itself for its cleansing from the Jewish doctors. In these and all other similar things, even the public opinion in itself would already throw no insignificant weight onto the scales if it did not stand, even today, still predominantly under the pressure of the press Jews. One should therefore enter everywhere with deed and word, privately and publicly, against the Jewish presumptions and Jewish opinions. In this way, one will promote not only the education on the Jews but also the liberation from their obtrusiveness and appropriately support those agitations which are directed to the application of major means.

7. A systematic agitation against the Jewish influence is the immediate helping means for all further measures. It is necessary to set the society and its organisation in state and government in the position of seizing those powerful political and economic regulations to which we

have pointed as means for the crippling of the overgrown Jewish power and as real nerve-cuttings of the same. Before the society in its most important strata and parties has reached full awareness of its racial opposition and at the same time a clear idea of the means and ways of its liberation from the Jewish evil, even the governments will and can carry out no decisive laws and regulations for cleansing. The resistance of the Jews and the Jewish comrades, as well as of the unenlightened and of that part of the public represented through the press, would on the other hand remain still so powerful. Especially in Germany there is the further fact that the government has - even where it could set forth on other paths - used the Jewish power as an element of its politics for too long not to have finally accumulated even in its own camp considerable hindrances. Not merely in official positions but also in the official press the Jewish race has in every opportunity gained a firm footing so that now the actual instruments become often the opposite of that for which they are destined. The temporary political advantage of that time is now powerfully outweighed by a long-lasting harm; for, one will have to work more than decades, indeed, perhaps an entire generation, to balance out this harm once again.

But, even apart from a preparative role of agitation and one enabling the legislative reforms, agitation would be very rightly necessary; for, it would then already resolve the preliminary task of limiting the Jewish influence in the society so far as it is possible with private means and precautions. In any case, therefore, a well-ordered agitation in which all anti-Judaic elements go together and where possible are united remains the immediate and most pressing need. The attack upto now against the Jews has, insofar as it is a question of parties, in Germany emerged chiefly from two comprehensive groups. The one belongs to the agricultural and so-called agrarian circles and represents herewith at the same time that part of the Conservative party which is not yet, along with its newspapers, itself penetrated and held paralysed by the Jewish race. The other group is essentially of a priestly sort and comprehends the Catholic party already held fast by its church organisation and politically influential. Alongside, Protestant stirrings have emerged indeed in a modest way in the individual case but have been able to develop only a little general and far-reaching effectiveness. In the public of the so-called Liberal parties, the disposition against the Jews is similarly very widespread, but has been able only a little to publicise itself, because the press of this circle does not let anything anti-Jewish be made known from this realm. The Liberal press devotes itself, after its full system of hushing up

of the entire Jewish question had failed, finally to occasional notices on Conservative, Ultramontane, and in general such stirrings as those through the representation of which as reactionary it believed it could charm its public from the start against everything anti-Jewish. And it was not favorable that anti-Jewish associations which were preeminently formed of Conservative elements transformed their task against the Jewry with too many particular 'party' viewpoints. Hereby the circle of those who could participate in such anti-Jewish associations was drawn too narrowly; for, one can demand of no party and direction that it give up its own principles for the purpose of participation in the general agitation against the Jewish race. It was similarly harmful that precisely racial Jewish persons were used as renegades in the Jewish agitation and in this way a Jewish insolent tone mixed itself in a matter in which seriousness and respectability had to prevail everywhere and thoroughly. The anonymity, or indeed pseudonymity, which prevailed in the concerned pamphlet literature was similarly least tolerable in the goal in question. Moreover, there were lacking writers who could support themselves, indeed, on something original and independently significant in politics, literature or science, instead of only on the colportage help of certain parties. In spite of all these inadequacies, the explanation regarding the Jews has spread powerfully in all circles of society - a certain sign that everywhere already a feeling was present for the evil and a quiet fermentation. Otherwise, such small and one-sided stirrings would not have sufficed to alarm the public everywhere and to create a situation in which the Jewish question remains lastingly in the foreground of all social statements.

To the explanation of the characteristics of the Jewish race and of their unsalutary effects belongs, however, yet another sort of explanation which comes up against many difficulties, that is, against those regarding the means which can remove the Jewish nightmare with success. On this point, the wavering and the vaguenesses were not small in the agitation upto now. Even here, the advantages and the one-sidednesses of the different political parties stood against each other. On the Conservative side, the restrictions were thought of mostly too generally, so that, following these, the freedom of the entire society would have fallen too strongly into sympathy with the Jews. The members of political and social freedom cannot submit to such a price for some liberation from the Jewish presumption. On the other hand, however, it is once again impossible to break the Jewish power without seizing still stronger restricting means than floated usually on the Conservative side. Some moderation in relation to the appointment of official positions with Jews, as well as

some entirely universal control and taxation in the field of especially Judaised commercial branches alongside checking of the Jewish immigration, was pretty much all that emerged in the field of rational plans. For the demand of a special and comprehensive legislation one did not have the courage and did not also know the way to unite such decisive reforms with the principles of the modern society. The solution lies, as shown in this work, simply in the fact that all modern principles are to be adhered to fundamentally but the Jewish race, as a chosen one, also considered with a chosen legislation of exception which is valid only for it. This solution provides also a free hand against the Jewish race for the followers of the most decisive political and social freedom. It damages none of the liberal principles and decrees only an exception demanded uniquely from the nature of things. The exception is basically only apparent; for, it is even the principles of freedom of the modern peoples themselves from which it is offered. Under judaisation, every freedom is ruined since the Jewish race is incapable of freedom and, in the case of equal rights legislation, affects the other peoples. In order not to unjustly affect the remaining society with a legislation appropriate for the transgressions of the Jewish race, the way of specialist legislation for Jews is the only possible one. On all other paths, the means would be too weakened to attack sufficiently effectively.

I have, already a number of years ago, recognized and evaluated the characteristics of the Jewish race in the most diverse directions; I expressed myself on this at that time with the fullest definiteness in my scientific writings. But before I was convinced by the facts which especially Germany offered in increasingly richer abundance of the inadequacy of every merely socially private repulsion of the Jewish proliferation, I had believed that one should not touch on the so-called emancipation - not really for the sake of the Jews but for that of the remaining society. The prejudice of the necessity of a universal legislation held me back. I was concerned that renewal of political differences could fundamentally damage or indeed, in combination with religious characteristics, become a real reaction under which the entire society might suffer in other directions. This concern has however now disappeared since I have found that the racial character is very well suited to a special legislation, indeed in view of the colossal evil, provokes to a legislative total war with clear laws of exception. I also reckoned earlier with future influences of a changed social order. Whereas all other powers seemed insufficient to me to abolish the evil power of the emancipated Jewish race, I considered the modest Socialism, as a real popular element, as powerfully sufficient in

a later future even against the Jews and, at the same time, for a comprehensive means of making the Jewish self-interest ineffective through the obstruction of opportunities for exploitation.⁴⁵ Although even now, in the final analysis, I reckon - if everything else should not suffice with regard to the Jewish race - with a powerful reawakening of the original correct popular instincts, I have however abandoned every supposition that the Jewish race could be improved in their tendencies under changed social conditions. Moreover, indeed, that which one calls Socialism today among ourselves is itself already fully Judaized and requires at least as much as all other directions and parties first a cleansing of the Jewish elements before something healthy can turn out from it.

The Jewish question is a social question and in fact one of the first order; indeed, for the moment it is ranked even before the general social question; for, it is not merely a question of life of the aspiring working class but a question of existence of the modern nations. The shaking off of the Jewish nightmare is a matter of the nations. The nations must advance against the Orientalism in all its parties as if it were a question of a campaign for the defence of the national right against a foreign invader. In a war, the parties do not function but their members enter as general soldiers into the national army. Here, only the technical and other laws of the operations are valid and no party viewpoint can set in a disturbing way. Over all special interests stands the one great demand of the self-maintenance of all. In a similar way are the agitation and the reform against the Jewish race to be conceived. The immediate thing for every party is their inner cleansing from the decisive influence of the Jews and of the ostensible Jewish comrades which has upto now been still operating among them. A number of Jewish and Jewish comradely politicians, litterateurs, and those playing a role in other ways, openly or secretly, holding on to the Jewish standard, are to be removed from the positions that they have taken up. Even the Conservatives have much more to do here. Since the times when, if I do not mistake, one of their chief leaders was a baptised Jew and Berlin professor of the name of F.J. Stahl,⁴⁶ the taste for racial Jews has been propagated among them and

⁴⁵ See Dühring, *Kritische Grundlegung der Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Berlin: A. Eichhoff, 1866.

⁴⁶ Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802-1861) was a baptised Jewish Conservative who served as member of the first Prussian Chamber from 1849, and of the Erfurt Parliament from 1850.

shows at present still many living fruits in the press and elsewhere. The father of that Stahl was, as far as I know, a livestock dealer; the son had already risen to political business with men. His oriental physiognomy was so marked that it stood out among thousands of other Jews; but this little man, with his original Jewish exterior and interior, now conducted a trade with Conservative ideas just as once his father did with the livestock of the Conservatives. In this way do the Disraelis grow up in miniature and from little things. There are more glorious tribes who provide the Jewish human material for the most diverse parties and for the press. There are traders in old clothes, bones, tatters, and scraps of all sorts for whose sons the possibility of studies has been wasted. The Jewry has in general the racial instinct to support everywhere even the poorer if it is a matter of studies. Hereby it expands its rule from all strata and creates for itself among the studying and literary class a numerous recruited regiment. Insolence in business is lacking least in the Jewish candidates sprung from the most contemptible peddler trades. They search out in into all parties where and how they can decay something there. According to opportunity they set out, some into these, others into those, branches of the political business, the official business, as well as the different learned and literary businesses. One may now imagine where this sort of Jewish training must lead in the course of some time. Finally, if things are not directed, the descendants of traders in old wardrobes, scraps and cattle bones must get to the very bones of the modern peoples after they have pocketed their wealth and lamed their mind through inoculation. All parties therefore, without basic difference, have to work against this Jewish thrust and become serious above all things about the dejudaisation in their own situation. Baptised Jews are here to be treated equally with the others, which especially the Conservative and religious circles have to consider well. One has also, in general, to guard against half-breeds everywhere; indeed the state must here complement, through the special watchfulness of its administrative authorities, what the racial laws cannot comprehend with their externally limited racial criteria.

A further chief point for the enabling of a powerful agitation is the disregarding of religion. It was already a mistake in the Middle Ages that the priests attributed the aversion of the peoples to the Jews to religious opposition and overlooked race in the case of baptized Jews. Today, something like that is a still greater, and indeed doubled, offence against the truth. One hereby not only diverts the judgement of the people and the nations in a false direction but contradicts moreover the Jews themselves, who still predominantly seek their chief defence in representing

the opposition against them as the result of a limited prejudice of other religious standpoints against their religion. Besides, an appeal to the religious belief is a circumstance which must disturb the co-operation of all parties in the agitation. Anti-Jewish associations must set forth without admixture of the general truth, that is, of the racial characteristics. In a higher sense here not only the racial ethics but also the racial religion is included; in a lower and more limited sense, however, the religious differences have no significance for the modern development of the Jewish question. But one does not need to give up touching on the core of all spiritual matters and pointing to the harm which loyalty and trust suffer through the expansion of the Jewish frivolity.

Since the explanation regarding the Jews is propagated by the oral and written word, independent lecturers and writers must above all do their part. The situation is indeed an evil one since the press is in the hands of the Jews, and every one who sets forth has to expect not only all possible hindrances and suppressions in the matter itself but also otherwise manifold personal damages. This is indeed, for writers who are exposed in this way to the machinations of the press Jews, not a small matter. Several years ago I pointed out already that it causes less harm to attack State and Church than to take on the machinations of the revengeful Jewish power which creeps in the dark. For the sake of the better mankind and in the interest of humanity, morals and culture, one must however take on such dangers and injuries. Moreover, every sort of anti-Jewish agitation should be prepared to find in certain circles and groups as little as no echo. Thus nothing, on an average, is to be expected from the university professors; for, this sphere is intellectually and morally already sunk in such a way that the Jewish press already belongs to its indispensable supports. The wretchedness of the university conditions and persons has become too transparent for the press not to be in the position of clearing away, if it wanted, the veneration of professors disseminated by it itself. Already the mere withdrawal of the glorifying Jewish advertisement would throw individual 'professorial dealers' into their scientific and political nothingness. The word-combination, "professors and Jews", the use of which became recently increasingly more necessary and frequent already gave evidence of the mentioned solidarity. Another realm in which the agitation finds indeed a real Jewish bulwark is the greatest part of the present-day Liberal party politicians and especially the chief-dealers who, where not themselves Jews, are yet intimately connected Jewish comrades, in any case, however, existences produced by the Jewish press and accordingly also dependent on it. In addition, there is

the fact that the few who would be inclined to emancipate themselves from the Jews are held back by the fear of coming into conflict with the Liberal sham and of appearing to honour no longer the Liberal principles. How weak this sort of initiative must become if one has grasped and made comprehensible the exceptional character of an anti-Jewish legislation has indeed been elucidated sufficiently from the above. It is important precisely that, under the adherence to the Liberal principles and among the Liberal elements, the agitation not only finds a vital participation but also calls forth a powerfully practical answer to the Jewish question.

The Jewish question is not to be solved with the means of a single century but only with those of all centuries. On this rests its world-historical answer. The earlier answer was to be considered critically and to the modern sense, which it received through the adaptation to the present-day needs, were to be added new particulars, such as especially the mediatisation of the Jewish finances and the fully exceptional nature of all anti-Jewish reforms. We have let the character of the Jewish race be mirrored in its historical conduct; we have acquainted ourselves with the Jewish self-interest in its religious, moral and economic embodiments as well as its incapacity for creative participation in science, literature, and art, and finally also the directly political social unsuitability of this degenerate race. We have shown the entire scope which the evil of the Judaisation and Jewish rule partly already has for the modern peoples and partly must assume if it is not hindered. To the enormity and the tenacity of the evil must correspond the strength and durability of the means. Some merely social counteractions could perhaps lower the tone of the present-day Jewish presumption a little for a while but attain nothing lasting. Where the race has been basically recognized there one sets to oneself from the start a further goal to which the way is to be paved not without the most powerful means. The Jews are - that will always be the conclusion for the expert on this race - an internal Carthage whose power the modern peoples must break in order not to suffer, themselves, a destruction of their moral and material foundations by it.

Appendix

Extracts from Ch.V, 'Popular and national means against the proliferation of the Hebrews' (Sections 4-9), of the 1901 edition.

4. All of history shows us that the national and popular means which were used against the life of the Hebrews have remained fully insufficient. One of the apparently greater means was the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish state by the Romans. But what did it especially help to attack the nest of the brood when the brood long dispersed throughout the world and the Roman Empire could continue their life! Only the destruction of the entire nationality could have freed the world at that time from the creeping evil. Only the Roman rule, which increasingly degenerated and fell into decline through the absorption of all peoples into its own Empire, ran out rather in the opposite direction and satisfied itself with the destruction of cities and states even there where better motives of quite different aim would have had to be taken into view. Even the little bit of internal Roman stride against the Christian propaganda, which was represented at first only by Hebrews and thereby abundantly by riff-raff, could not achieve anything against the continued proliferation and further creeping in of the race. The decay of the Roman world-empire remained even the soil on which the exploitative deceptive nationality had to thrive.

If moreover the Christian once prevailed, he had to, in spite of domestic frictions with Mosaism, always and even in the Middle Ages serve the backing of Hebraism. The only too justified medieval and the partially justified later attacks of the people against the Jews were misinterpreted and distracted by Christian priests deliberately into mere religious ones. Even mere local expulsions could help little, especially since the Hebrews learnt later to sneak in increasingly more. The seclusion in

ghettos, thus in special parts of the city, to which of course they saw themselves necessitated, indeed interned them to some degree but produced among themselves an only so much closer coherence. And it remained a gaping contradiction to cherish one of them as the founder of a religion and to judge the people to whom he had belonged. To glorify the spiritual and to conduct a sort of popular war against the physical nature from which the mind in question is supposed to have arisen could never mutually agree. No superstition, no theory of the later rejected but earlier so-called people of God, could ever balance that illogicality and that contradiction. One should have made a front against the improper mind itself, thus judged and done away with the Christian itself, in order to come into the situation of dismissing the physical Hebrews to a never-again future. To drive them out of individual countries and to let them turn to others had to be proved every time as a short-sighted and deceptive means.

To this also belongs the popular madness that has crept in that the Jews belong to Palestine, and that it would be good if they all exported themselves there. If many religious Jews bear their putative old glory and accordingly would like to have and found a Zion once again this is understandable. But if other peoples favoured such a sort of thing this would be a foolishness. The so-called Zionists of today seek to use that madness of other peoples in order to let some exotic Zion-foundation on stocks which they prepare in an allegedly banking way acceptable also to the non-Hebrew public and appear as a sort of solution of the Jewish question. If this sort of thing were feasible, its carrying through would signify only an increase of Jewish power. The thing which snakes its way round the world would receive in this way a sort of head and the twining round the peoples as well as the twining into them would have to develop even more harmfully and dangerously than before. Let one be satisfied however that the Romans made an end of the Hebraic Jerusalem, and that only a later caricature of history merely in name and mocking, galvanised in a Byzantine manner and possessed in an Islamic way, was able to be produced. It would be a wonderful occupation of modern and better peoples to want to produce an extra head for the Hebraic serpent which has long enough conducted its existence to the insult and injury of these peoples. This would mean pushing back history and afterwards making something like a new cleansing Roman action necessary. It would mean returning to the beginning when an end is to be made in quite another and far more drastic sense.

5. To expect the required resort to drastic measures today and in the foreseeable future from governments would be to ignore the world situation and of the political conditions such as are evident now since the close of the century to the one who offers no place for glossings over and softenings. Even experience has taught what is to be expected in general from governments. With infrequent exceptions like those of Frederick II of Prussia, who also thought of the Jews in the sense of Voltaire and at least did not encourage them, even if he too could do only little and cross them only in details - with such isolated exceptions have the power holders and governments as a rule, instead of thinking of the protection of their peoples against the Hebrews, performed rather, originally for defence-motives and later for other services or supposed advantages, precisely the protection of the Jews. Many a time one can characterize the last conduct without further ado as a deliverance of the nation to the Hebrew-directed exploitation; indeed it signified mostly the licensing of a sneaking robber-type to more or less free operation of its devouring ways endangering the wealth and indirectly, where not indeed directly, the life of other peoples.

How far the Jews have brought it even in our times in the influencing of the most diverse governments was proved very tangibly in 1878 by the example of the Berlin Congress to which Disraeli and Bismarck - indeed, as one could also caricaturingly say, Disraeli and Bismarck - held out their hand, in order to force on Romania a so-called emancipation of the Jews as a precondition of the further constitution of this state. In this way were the Romanians, among whom a massive Jewish population dwells, encumbered with a colossal Jewish burden which they have been able to make only very little lighter through a rather evasive establishment of paragraphs in their constitution. Similarly helpful with regard to the Jewish unreasonable demands did the same Bismarck show himself who, already in the next years, made with the same unscrupulousness the attempt to use the mostly Junkerish and Christian-acting so-called Antisemitism which had emerged in the meanwhile for his internal party and election politics, but gave up this undertaking when it did not shape itself in a way that was sufficiently profitable for him politically. However, even earlier under his political leadership the Jews had had their first age of jubilation; and indeed precisely through his favour - namely through that which they provided him with glorifications and that which he provided them - did they first actually enter into the official positions and co-legislate parliamentarily to their advantage! He himself was, with regard to the Jewish question, so ignorant that he could seek its solution

in a merging of Germans and Jews, openly following the model of the Junkerish marriage of Jewish money. Moreover, he laboured at a Christian mixture of ideas - even if somewhat inflated - which indeed makes the entire feudal estate and the states incapable of a real, let alone radical, anti-Hebraic attitude.

But something more decisive is taught by France where, at the close of the century, the government is not merely Jewish-influenced but is directly and tangibly a Hebrew government which has delivered even the army in all directions and relations to the Jewish blood, indeed to the religious Jews. It is not herewith meant that this sort of progress towards decay and the corresponding political self-decomposition is not strongly represented also in other countries and that it does not have even among us very considerable analogies to show. Just beyond the Vosges, a similar thing is more visible and has culminated, in the post-Revolutionary century, very truly to be called Jewish, openly to a point of the most unrestricted insolence. To speak of regulations there, to remove the mastery of the administration, of the parties, of the parliament, and of the businesses by a number - non significant in comparison with the entire population - of Jews who were earlier statistically ascertainable and now estimated accordingly, by way of personal limitations and exclusions would be badly set out; for where it must be said, 'L'Etat c'est le juif', there the entire machine has come apart at the seams and is already so much in the hands of the Hebrews that it works only for Hebrew goals. Approximations to something similar are found however elsewhere, and even in relation to our own situation in Germany I have in this edition given up reckoning in any way with regulations and means for which the government machinery, parliamentarism and in general the state would have to be taken into account. Through this, much has disappeared in discussions and arguments which could contain in the practical chief point a sense only so long as one has to reckon with governments not basically Judaised. A genuine Anti-Hebraism had, to be sure, to turn out always in an oppositional manner; only it means more if, in view of actual Jewish states or such states which find themselves already in the forestage to this, it must dispense with every government help as with something absurd under the predominant circumstances.

6. If one can virtually not reckon with government means and applications against the Jews so long as the political conditions remain what they are or indeed deteriorate, one may also place no weight any more on regulations which can be carried out only under the presupposition that anti-Hebraically strengthened or a least strengthening gov-

ernments are available. One of the means thought of by me and more closely characterised in the earlier editions was the mediatization of the Jewish financial princes and bank power-holders. Just as in the political aspect the smaller lordships and feudal forces were made indirect by the modern state, so should also those social financial forces which are concentrated in Hebrew hands, thus the entire Jewish financial class, come immediately under the control of the state, which has to allot curators to the administration of their wealth, and they should finally become fully dependent on the state. In fact it agrees badly with the sovereign rights of the state, and is moreover injurious to the nation, if Jewish individuals or institutes which command thousands of millions exercise directly or indirectly a social mastery which becomes not merely a state within a state but often enough a state over states, indeed one could mockingly say wishes to represent a super-state gesturing in a superman-kindly way.

Indeed, the Jewish wealth as a whole, even without restriction to its most extreme points, pleases itself already in the role of exercising super-state power. What I have earlier, with a still thoughtful designation, called the racial economy of the Jews forms here the base, and the financial rule of the Hebrews arisen from this racial economy is already in itself a bad fact. It is not based on rightful occupation but mostly specifically on a wealth which materialised through deception and in general bad practices exploitative of peoples and nations. The one-sidedness of abstract economic doctrine which almost always reckons only with a normal process of things leaves out of consideration in the field of its universal natural laws of economic formation the powerful influence of deception. The economic distribution is formed also, so to speak, according to the natural laws of deception, that is according to the standards of the effects of all bad - whether it be personal or objective - means and powers of acquisition. To the conquest in the political field corresponds the creeping in, the roguish cunning and piling up in the economic. Herein the Hebrews have always distinguished themselves in world history, and what I, as mentioned, understood, in all too respectable, not to say refined, word-formation, by 'racial economy' was and is in the main nothing but a commercial system of lies and deception.

Moreover it is self-evident for our personal way of thought itself that it is not the business function or the power of capital in itself which brings with it such a strong measure of deception and economically proliferating exploitation as the Hebrews have attained at all times and in all places. The function gives here only the occasion; but it is the person-

al racial disposition and the sneaking robber-animal component therein through which the actions first receive the thieving and plundering character in a marked way. With regard to that, it is also no violation of the principle of property if one does not recognize such accumulations as rightly acquired but sees in them a piece of unjust world history which is to be undone and offset in as world-historical way. The last would however be also only a relatively small regulation in a field in which, in the long run and in final consequence, it cannot be a matter of attacking merely property and wealth but the personal root in the persons themselves.

After these brief indications, it can be measured how the means planned twenty years before the end of the century of a mediatising of the Hebrew financial swaggering could indeed remain fully valid in themselves but, in relation to the powerlessness of the states that have become in the meanwhile increasingly more Judaised - and moreover also in view of the necessity of something more drastic -, had to lose their significance. As matters stand at the entrance to the new century, a mediatisation of the states through the Jewish financial realm would have to be expected, rather than the reverse. The political powerlessness with regard to the Jewish blood which betrayed itself in facts

of ritual murder so tangibly finds its counterpart in the almost involuntary subordination under the Jewish financial powers and financial arts which have been already for a long time indeed represented and favored finance-ministerially by Jews in all sorts of countries. How should one, in the face of such conditions, still place any weight on regulations in which, from the start, the precondition was that the Hebrew blood could still be disqualified where it has already attained leading positions!

7. Since the present common course of states and state- development does not at all permit a prediction of a spontaneous dejudaising - whether it be administrative or legislative - which follows from a personal reaction, it is not worth discussing specially and thoroughly the driving out of the Hebrew blood from the official positions as happened in the fourth edition of this work. Even here the opposite - that is, the letting in - is the ever increasing fact, to which some resistance - stirring and acting for reasons of a Christian feudal sort - merely for some distancing of religious Jews also forms no exception that is to be estimated as being very special. To be sure, Junkerish elements - and indeed mostly in associations with priestly elements - oppose everywhere, more or less, the penetration of religious Jews into the political offices. But this oppositional competition of Junkers and Jews alone does not perform much,

especially since Christian and political reactionaries produce only a religiously domestic strife and, apart from that, really only a quarrel of a robber tradition and instincts with a sneaking variety of the same comes mostly into question. Where the feudal aspects are pushed back, the Hebrews force themselves in alongside Hebrew comrades and take the chief share, whereas the third, the remaining society upto now, has always come off badly.

Such plans as the reduction of Hebraic officials according to the amount of the population or general removal of the present occupants from especially dangerous fields, such as indeed from the justice and education, - all such plans of which notice was to be taken earlier have lost their practical significance because they are hopeless in a double sense. First, all points of reference are lacking to enact them and, as soon as the power for the realisation of such plans is acquired through changes of situation, this power would indeed extend much further and not restrict itself to such tasks, which would then find themselves automatically harmed. Even the pointing to the fact that there should have been a right of rejection with regard to Hebraic judges has only a theoretical worth. Anti-Hebraism would have had to spread far first of all that such rejections may as a rule have some success; but under such circumstances Jewish blood would perhaps not be found in judicial functions from the start.

How does it happen however, one can ask, that the Jews force themselves increasingly more into official positions and in general are able to exploit the state for themselves? Is that not really a proof of their aptitude? No, that is only a proof of the rottenness and corruption of the situation and of the incapacity, that is, indeed the lack of insight, among those persons who, although of other nationality, yet give way to the deceptive arts and flattery of the Hebrews. I do not however have to speak here thoroughly of the causes of the undermining of the states, of declining dynasties and estates or, in general, of elements whose inadequate knowledge and ability and whose conceited limitedness makes them especially accessible to the ensnaring arts of the Jews. For example, the feudal people and what has grown from their circles have not yet been able to cope with the Jews. Although one would like to conduct oneself at least partially in that field in a Jewish-opposing way, they actually still fall victim, for the most part, to the opposition.

State leaders have often enough shown themselves in history as being twined round by Jews, where they did not deliberately and from a perverse judgement encourage the Hebrews from the start. Where and as

long, therefore, as rotten governments constitute the chief trademark of the state of affairs, and indeed in the greater or lesser measure in which this is the case in all sorts of states, the Jews also will have a sometimes more sometimes less, but always easy, play. Only from this point of view is understood the very rapidly increasing Judaising of those mostly undermined states in which either no dynasties, or else dissolute or decaying elements enter who hide in positions of power-holders and are often less than nothings. If and where governments become puppets of Jews they must also be formed according to them, and their inferiority is really not to be ascribed to the Hebrews as Hebrew talent. Only a thing which is in itself empty and worthless becomes a play-ball of the Jews. The prospect of a better state depends accordingly on the fact that other and stronger forces rise to leading influence among the peoples. But in what way a people can get leaders who emancipate it from the Jews, that is hard to indicate because this can be accomplished in many forms and is not at all bound to a single definite change. In the country of the origin of the Revolution, in Judaised France, the saying is in evidence that the next revolution will be one against the Jews. But there are greater things to be accomplished which have priority but with which, in our opinion, even the disappearance of the Jews goes hand in hand.

All ways which lead to the goal are good if only forces and persons are present who are adequate for the striking out of this path. One will not get a starting point in formalities and therefore will not have to linger on them. Force of arms is, in the last instance at least, never to be given up as a support, where serious reorganisations of the conditions, that is however where personal eradications, come into question. It is the worst form if it is, immediately and of their own accord, military leaders who take up the initiative and as it were represent the people. In the meanwhile, even such a solution, appearing small in itself, would, with regard to the Hebrews, be better than nothing. However, I have recalled that sort of thing only in order that it may be noticed how many other possibilities there are apart from this the crudest of all. What will take the place of corrupt states and governments is not yet foreseeable in definite features; only, whatever form new and better powers may even have they will actually always find means to clean away the Jewish power. The social and intellectual tension which is a consequence of the Judaising becomes increasingly greater and the means of easing such increased tension we cannot measure according to that which would be appropriate today should the need arise. For this reason we have now indeed given up the earlier suggestions of such an immediate means.

8. In the meanwhile, before it comes to drastic remedy, one can to a certain degree guard and preserve oneself at least privately through education about the Jews and through corresponding energy. It also does not remain excluded that in state and community, as well as in corporate bodies and unions, much distancing or driving out of Hebrew blood may succeed in the individual case. Cleansing must even everywhere be kept before one's eyes, and only illusions, or indeed false party-promises with reference to an all too easy breaking of the Jewish power or one apparently acting with common means, are to be avoided. The vulgar and reactionary antisemitism often indulges here in an analogous deception or indeed swapping as does Socialism, which indeed also indulges in false promises and anticipations and gives itself the appearance of expecting from actually inadequate means everything possible and impossible. The Jewish question and the universal social question have that in common that they can be answered only personally and can be resolved in a final manner only through the application of the most extremely energetic means.

In both cases, it is a sort of exploitative barbarism, bound with political oppressions to which everything points and which partially already exists. If now the constitution of the situation rises to complete barbarism, then necessarily an anti-barbaric reaction must follow which is formed drastically but for that reason not itself barbarically. Just as Antihebraism is not Hebraism but the opposite of it, so also antibarbarism is not barbarism but a freely correspondingly strict attack against the latter. The Jews will accordingly bury themselves finally in the barbarism which they themselves help to bring forth, in that precisely the unjust and disorderly situation must bring with it an era of strong government and strong counter-measures. A slow return retrogression in population and wealth which must emerge with a sort of excluding and distancing prescription regarding the Jews could, to be sure, finally also lead to the disappearance of the race. This would be a relatively more even and softer way to the rejection of the harmful thing. This way would also be attached to the other necessity of regenerating the law and morals among the better peoples, therefore of making a front against all judicial or moral criminality.

Only, that relatively mild way has on both sides the disadvantage that it protracts the trouble for long and, through the duration of the process, outweighs the relatively good which originates from its mechanical method. Often enough acute changes are to be preferred to chronic dragging on, and it is indeed more humane, especially with regard to

barbaric conditions, to shorten the slow disappearance of the burden on the one hand and the correspondingly slow dying out on the other with everything which the higher law of history offers by way of other means. For example, extraordinary crimes against the better peoples and for the sake of these unusually painful forms could be the occasion of seizing things immediately and of forming the initiative of the nations and the people in a compensating and - in the best sense of the word - terroristic way. Means of fear and violence have already from Sinai been the ones suited to the nationality in their own area; why should the necessarily hostile conduct of the better peoples be afraid of a system which had to be adhered to for the very advantages of the Hebrews by their own leaders! Thereby it must be also estimated how the law of war, especially of a war against the anti-Aryan, indeed anti-human, combat of foreign parasites, then must be a different one from that of peace, especially of that between human elements respecting and promoting one another.

It is not indeed the baseness of a race or nationality which can limit its law to existence or indeed place it in question. That is proved in the example of the Chinese who openly have a right of defence against exploitative creeping in of a commercial or other reject population, although this population invasion of speculators and adventurers mostly originates from a field of races and nationalities in themselves higher, and Hebrews thereby just mix in with them. But indeed the robber- and pirate-like growth of these higher nationalities is perhaps strong and not indeed represented merely by the English but more or less by the most diverse peoples and indeed as much with efforts at suppression as with those at exploitation. Here therefore it is a matter of being affected by a robber-animal trait against which the attacks, even if not all the brutalities of their forms, must be considered as perfectly justified, provided that one may judge impartially in a nationalistic sense. Whether now a robber-animal has more secretive sneaking characteristics than those disposing it to open brutality does not at all matter in the chief question, namely in the question of the right to counteraction, and the creeping beings, not to say creeping animals, considered all in all, are still more injurious and dangerous forms than the predominantly robber-like. Even the Chinese method of defence has been directed mostly against a similarly sneaking penetrating type even if only for spiritual reasons, namely against Christian missionaries and, moreover, even the anti-foreigner resistance has characterised itself as a rejection of indirect, that is economic, exploitation and of threatening direct suppression. However, we have to discuss

further here not the foreigner question of the Chinese but our own foreigner question.

If the Jews were merely a baser nationality a policy of exception, perhaps with reference to politics and literature, would suffice against them. They would then not have equal claim in all matters, but could nevertheless exist for themselves according to the measure of their capacity. But now there is added to baseness further the creeping robber-type, which cannot be disciplined, educated, and domesticated away. The serpent retains its characteristics from the beginning of Nature and all of history; in its case the snake-like character can be removed only along with itself. No intellectual, no social, no political system can make the Hebrews essentially other than what they are and always were. The injuriousnesses of which their national character is made up can therefore slink back and disappear only with themselves. Even through mixture they are only attenuated as it were and better nationalities become infected thereby. Those characteristics remain, or emerge atavistically, even in cases where the union with the female section of the better racial groups for example has masked, through blond hair and, as it happens also exceptionally, blue eyes, the nevertheless inwardly Hebrew character sometimes less, at other times more. Even periods of geological expansion could in the main bring no decisive change, not to mention that socially and politically a need to consider hundred thousand or indeed millions of years, especially in the case of favorable prospects, would be worthless and a bad, indeed practically ridiculous, consolation. In the meanwhile, it is proved by way of correct conclusion precisely as an absurdity to want to even think of any change affecting the essential character-constitution in already strongly constituted types.

9. After all, freedom for Hebrews is only a political concession for the harmful, indeed in some directions for the exercise of criminal dispositions and characteristics. From our more modest standpoint it is a matter, however, not merely of the question of freedom but already more decisively of the question of sheer existence. To this does even the glance at the existence and integrity of better peoples point. One may estimate only the extent of the finances and, next to that, the presses of the world whose most extreme Judaising alone already, and disregarding all other things, can be considered as a tangible proof of the unbearable conditions. Precisely the so-called Radicalism is most intensively Hebraised and even in a religious sense most uninhibitedly Judaised. It stands almost always for freedom formulas which aim at an unrestricted indulgence, indeed a rule, of the Jewry. A dejudaising of the press cannot at all be thought of

as something to be carried out in isolation; only the elimination of all Hebrew persons from the possession of the press and from the accompanying jobs would be sufficient, but can be thought of only in connection with changes which affect all Hebrew life in general.

If already financial mediatisations, as mentioned above, belong to half-measures which are to be abandoned under the given circumstances, the intellectual counterpart of that, namely the abolition of the Jewish press, cannot be thought of similarly in connection with the present day and similar conditions, but must, if it is to succeed, form an accessory of general personal regulations and actions. Only when the Hebrews fade and disappear also in other ways will they at the same time leave the domain of the press. Nevertheless it is on occasion possible to blow away entire troops of newspapers in connection with politically strong transformations and changes, and, within the scope of this possibility, the real revolutions have something further in mind than the usurpations of personal power. Only, such a sort of thing does not suffice if a better order and constitution of the press should be secured, which is really cleansed, and that, everywhere as regards personnel. We recalled those partial cleansings only to indicate, through smaller historical antecedents, a preliminary notion of the scope of more comprehensive dissolutions.

Even from the special formation of individual local Jewish questions one can come to a conclusion regarding what it is a question of at the moment of its practical realisation, and how wherever one sets in question only freedom really the existence, thus the right to existence, should at the same time be discussed. Romania and Algeria are two fields especially instructive for the burdening with Jews. In the first country, it is the great excessive number which one has to estimate since a city like Jassy, for example, shows more than a half of Jewish population, whereby moreover only the religious and the accordingly statistically verifiable Hebrews are counted. How should there be a serious solution of the Jewish question there if the Jews do not just disappear! In Algeria, on the other hand, where indeed an antisemitic city-representation - even if one basically just dependent on the Christian - exists, the nerve of the matter, as well as the chief difficulty, is to be sought in the fact that, in 1870, civil rights were obtained surreptitiously for the Jews of Paris, whereas the Arab Algerians remained politically without rights. Now, precisely the Arab Semites are there the most decisive Antihebraists and would, if they were not held down by the French militarism, understand in their way how to deal with the Jews.

Here therefore the colonial slavery of the natives and, in general, the colonial curse which also hinders the formal and titularly ruling French population from getting rid of, in a final way, the Jewish power which has effectively swollen to a Jewish rule and is supported from Paris. The French colonial rapacity has produced this situation, and only freedom of the Arab element could offer to the Hebrews their due final fate. But France does not in general give up colonial despotism, let alone the marked party nationalism with which the Franco-antisemites concur. So long as these circumstances and relations still continue, all prospects which are offered in an antisemitic way remain only an appearance. Anti-semitism, to be sure, extends precisely in Algeria, but the Jewish rule concentrates and increases itself in a still higher degree through the favoring on the part of the motherland. It is therefore only occasional popular attacks through which the Hebrews find themselves embarrassed, that is, personally threatened, now and then in their exploitation of the colony. Thus also the situation of Algeria teaches that basically only the complete disappearance of the Hebrews could be a solution of the Jewish question worth the name - a solution which once again depends on the French conditions or, however, on the freeing of the colony. But how the French colonists might deal with the Arabs and similar tribes and share in the administration of the country is, in view of the traditional situation, not yet formulable. The world requires indeed everywhere a correct, free, thorough, transformation if the false freedom, namely that of exploitation and crime, should be eliminated.

10. In view of the present-day Judaisation of the so-called cultured world, my original statement on the inner Carthage, which the Jews represent with regard to the better peoples, is hardly more sufficient for the characterisation of the situation. The Romans could seize the enemy in the form of an external Carthage relatively easily and finally remove it from further history. Their thoughtless principle of conquest and destruction came to their aid thereby. Present day and better peoples however have everywhere and in every context to take genuine right as a compass. Thereby it is to be demonstrated, in addition, that the Hebrews are not merely an internal Carthage of the world but are in their joints something worse than the Punic people, with their sort of proverbially bad faith, could ever have become if these instead of the Romans had attained universal mastery and piling in or indeed creeping in into all nations. Materially and spiritually, the badly oppressing Hebrew nightmare is an omen that the world finds itself still in many contexts in sleep and can become free of this burden only through complete awakening.

The writer of Jewish history, Renan, had also, with instinctive trust in a more distant hypnotising, ventured to openly set the possibility in view that the world would one day become Jewish and Christian without a liberal opposition. With regard to everything and the entire religious historical tradition, then, another intellectual attitude is to be established which, under dependence on better racial instincts, enters in the place of religion and takes justice into its hands both in the conduct of life and in the characterisation of the world. One who finds the existence of the incarnate Hebraism irreconcilable with better conditions will first have to drive out the mind which has been, and remained, coupled with it from primordial times.

If now, even in the purely intellectual realm, the question of the intellectual leadership is self-evidently the main thing, then we find ourselves in our age, in which even the murder of despots has been developed almost into a system, before a task which, because personally political, is therefore also more tangible and in a situation which, apart from the merely intellectual and enlightening propaganda, demands also always the consideration of the real through which the conditions are objectively - and indeed personally as well as objectively - formed. Even here we have to reckon in many, if not in most, of the contexts with history not merely theoretically but practically, not merely through criticism but also in the way of a crisis. Now persons and their characteristics are far more important than things and institutions. This personalistic truth applies everywhere and especially for the more general social question, but is most easily perceived in a glance at the evil of the Hebrew existence and of the granting of a free hand to the Hebrews. So, instead of conceiving with Jewish Socialism everything in a mere limited anti-capitalistic way and thus covering and protecting the Jews as such with their special Jewish characteristics through that general capitalistic rubric more than exposing them, our Personalism goes in precisely the reverse direction that even the exploiters of a foreign nationality are to be conceived of above all as a personal misformation. Only, here it is not a natural origin as among animal robber-forms but a cultural degeneration and misformation that is in question which has at the same time had as its consequence the corresponding institutions of a less civilising than servilising sort. We proceed therefore more basically if we consider the personal original-formations and their continuations than if we would analyse merely the secondary, the given, institutions and relations and explain them as decisive targets for modifying practice.

Here the Personalist idea cannot be pursued in its ramifications. My other writings, especially their most recent editions, and not least my fortnightly journal *Personalist und Emanzipator*, on which the extremely closely related material is to be found, elucidate that principle, use it in the individual case and show its significance indeed also with regard to the immediate actualities of current events. The *Personalist* has, beyond its general and comprehensive task, also the special one of holding the Jewish question always before one's eyes and has therefore upto now provided a number of special discussions which cannot find a place in a work like the present one even with the most extreme concentration. In that I recall these not merely useful but partially also necessary supplements, I recall finally also once more the fact that a rebuilding from the standpoint of organic legal ideas remains the main thing.

The better peoples must succeed in rejecting the morally as well as juridically criminal, and meet it in all its forms therefore not merely individually but also generally. Only if they proceed in themselves and in general in this manner, if they bring down the international as well as the private injustice, will they find also the naturally correct points of reference to get rid of the Hebrew chaos. They must emancipate themselves from their other chains, politically as well as intellectually, if they are to be able to emancipate themselves from the Hebrews and shake off the entire Jewish nightmare. Later, once everything is in order, one may designate the little piece of dispersed Jewish mishistory of the world perhaps as one of the temporarily irksome facts through which the better peoples are allowed to acquaint themselves more precisely with their own wealth and to become increasingly aware of it in a complete removal of that which stands opposed to it.

To be sure, one could ask oneself how, in the intellectual and material fields, that great deception and disadvantaging has been able to last so long and for a time indeed triumph. In the meanwhile, in the realm of lies and deception, it is, as the medical field also teaches us, almost always the greater and more impudent little pieces which prevail in the competition. In general, the as it were diabolical phenomenon on the globe consists in a sowing of weeds, and clearly poisonous weeds, which proliferates always and everywhere where one does not carefully weed. For the time being, on the other hand, there is almost nothing for a precept but the enlightened mind and the forces of the private individual; for, state and community as well as party-system have in their weakness already been too abundantly taken in by the opponent. Precisely this situation must however urge the determined component of better humani-

ty only so much more to act in order to create communities and communal life whose principles extend over the earth and thereby also, obviously, do not leave any room for Hebrew life.

ly only so much more to act in order to create communities and communal life whose principles extend over the earth and thereby also, obviously, do not leave any room for Hebrew life

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1991-1992 Research Reader, Centre for Religious Studies, Univ. of Toronto.
1990-1991 Visiting Professor, Department of Philosophy, Univ. of Toronto.
1988-1990 Senior Fellow, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Univ. of Toronto.

Degrees, Diplomas, Awards:

- 1988 Ph.D. in History of Ideas, Pennsylvania State University.
(Ph.D. Thesis: 'A Critical Study of Henry More's *A Platonick Song of the Soul* (1647).
1984 Licentiate Diploma (Pianoforte), Trinity College of Music, University of London.
1983 Ben Euwema Memorial Research Fellowship, Pennsylvania State University, U.S.A.
1977 M.A. in English Literature, University of Leeds, England.
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1975 B.A. in English Literature, University of Madras, India.
Diplôme Supérieur d'Études Françaises Modernes, L'Alliance Française de Paris.

Scruton, Roger. Jawarhalal Nehru Memorial Fund Award, University of Madras.
 The Macmillan Press, National Scholarship for graduate study abroad, Government of India.

Publications:

Books:

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Seminars, Colloquia:

1983 - attended the seminar on 'Discussions of Miracles in the 17th and 18th Centuries' conducted in Fall 1983 by Prof. D. P. Walker of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, London, at the Folger Renaissance Institute, Washington, D.C., and read a paper on Henry More's interest in the subject.

1987 - attended the centenary conference on Henry More held at Christ's College, Cambridge University, in September 1987, and read a paper on 'More and Newton'.

1989 - presented three colloquia, in Spring and Fall 1989, in the University of Toronto: 'Providence and Plastic Nature in the Cambridge Platonists and Bishop Berkeley', sponsored by the Centre for Religious Studies, 'The Infinite Universe of Giordano Bruno and Henry More', sponsored by the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science, and 'From the World-Soul to the Will: Natural philosophy from Schelling to Schopenhauer', sponsored by the Dept. of Philosophy.

1990 - presented a colloquium, in Fall 1990, in the Dept. of Philosophy, Univ. of Toronto: 'Notes on the Unconscious: The philosophy of Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and Jung'.

1992 - presented a colloquium, in Spring 1992, in the Centre for Religious Studies, Univ. of Toronto: 'Science, Religion, and Politics in seventeenth century England: The case of Isaac Newton'.

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